FBIS DAILY REPORT CONTENTS

# Soviet Union

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## 'TOP PRIORITY' EXAMINES U.S. ATTITUDE TO TEST BAN

LD022102 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 1 Apr 86

["Top Priority" program presented by Pavel Kuznetsov, with Dr Radomir Bogdanov and Dr Sergey Plekhanov from the Institute for United States and Canada Studies]

[Text] Speaking on Soviet television last Saturday, General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev once again confirmed that this country would prolong its unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests beyond March 31 if the United States refrained from its own nuclear testing. The Soviet leader proposed a meeting with President Reagan in London, Rome, or any other European capital to discuss the most crucial problem of banning nuclear testing. With the survival of humanity at stake the Soviet moratorium was dictated by the urgent need to seek new approaches to international security in the spirit of responsibility. However, the Reagan administration is against halting nuclear tests, one of the reasons being the need to build new weapons, both nuclear and those in space, the X-ray laser in particular.

On Saturday 22 March the United States detonated a nuclear device in Nevada, and according to press reports from Washington, intends to carry out another nuclear explosion shortly. In today's edition of Top Priority, leading experts from the Moscow-based Institute for United States and Canada Studies Dr Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov take a look at some official American arguments on nuclear testing. Moderating Top Priority is Pavel Kuznetsov of our staff.

[Kuznetsov] President Reagan invited Soviet scientists to come to Nevada and watch new American equipment to monitor nuclear testing in use. He added that he had offered to share with this country, that is with us, this new technology that would allow both nations to verify compliance with treaties limiting nuclear testing. But at the same time the Reagan administration is dragging their feet on renewing talks on a comprehensive test ban treaty. I don't see how the two things can go hand in hand, I mean this passion for compliance with (?unratified) treaties and at the same time their unwillingness to resume talks on a comprehensive test ban.

[Bogdanov] Pavel, you are right, you are right. My difficulty with that is also along the same lines, but I would like to add to that some illogical, you know, points which are in the proposals of the Reagan administration. What I mean by that: We suggest to this administration that we stop testing. But this administration suggests to us: you join us in improving the level of testing. You know, that's the no 1 point of illogical behavior in that. It looks like that, I'm sorry for that, that you invite somebody to train in robbing somebody, to improve the level of robbing somebody's pockets instead of stopping robbing somebody. It looks like that, it's the same, you know. So I don't know why we should accept Reagan's invitation to send our people and just to bless by that the resuming and continuation of nuclear testing. So it means that they take us for such a silly people that we will by one hand suggest stop testing but by the other hand join them in improving (?them).

[Kuznetsov] And bless them.

[Bogdanov] And bless them, and bless them. And, you know, what is really a propaganda trick, that's exactly what the Reagan administration suggested to us -- without, of course, any hope that we will accept it -- but they were rather suggesting that for their own people, uninformed people, to show how they are, you know, generous to the Soviets and ready even to share their new technology but (?the Soviets) don't accept it.

[Kuznetsov] In a (?Senate) report since 1984 the United States Administration has recently accused the Soviet Union of violating its arms control treaty commitments. Like I said, similar charges were made in 1984 and '85. Is there any connection between these regular charges with the official American position on nuclear testing?

[Plekhanov] Well, of course, I think there is a connection; it's part of the same policy, trying to prevent any progress in Soviet-American relations on arms control. You see, there is so little that can be used as ammunition against the idea of banning all nuclear tests that you need whatever ammunition you can find in other quarters. But also, I think, the recent report is also connected with the continued attempts by the extremist forces in the Reagan administration to undermine the ABM treaty of 1972, and the SALT-II treaty; they have been doing it for several years. They have been trying, coming up with new ploys, new attempts to break out of those treaties, to destroy them, and they haven't given up. So it's not just connected with the business of testing. But what they did come up with, on the basis of what I have been able to read in the press, is the same old list of complaints, which have been rejected before by very responsible sources in the administration itself. For instance, Admiral Chain, who until recently was head of the bureau of political military affairs at the State Department, stated a year ago in connection with the previous report, which contained virtually the same charges, stated that actually he did not agree that the Soviet Union violated the existing treaties, that those charges are not very well grounded. And one must say in fairness that in most of those so-called cases that the -- that have been included in those reports, the administration is talking about possible violations that they have grounds to think that -- (?violations)...

[Kuznetsov] (?Violations likely) ...

[Plekhanov] So (?they need an escape clause ) because you really don't want to be -- to get caught brazenly lying in public. You also must be aware, you know we can't say -- we're not 100 percent sure, but there's enough...

[Kuznetsov] [ ords indistinct]

[Plekhanov] Yeah. But for the public, which doesn't go into detail, and for the 2-minute newscast, you know, news points -- news spots -- in the -- on television.

[Kuznetsov] Or radio?

[Plekhanov] It does sound like -- yes, well, the Soviets are cheating, and the administration is trying to catch them, you know. That's very harmful.

[Kuznetsov] As far as I know, an intelligence estimate made public by the Joint Chiefs of Staff contradicts President Reagan's assertion that the Soviet Union has violated the key arms control provision, and that was carried by THE NEW YORK TIMES news service in February, and this report refers to similar accusations made by the Reagan administration in 1985. And the independent scientists and experts said that it appears gravely irresponsible for the administration to have formally charged the Soviet Union in December with a violation of the SALT-II overall numerical limits when the Joint Chiefs of Staff order of battle now shows them to be well within the required limit.

[Plekhanov] Well, of course, honoring such important treaties as SALT I and II treaties is in the interests of the Soviet Union. We are not interested in breaking out of treaties which serve our interests.

And we are firmly convinced that they, those treaties, are also in the interests of the United States, and that they should observe those treaties scrupulously, and not try to undermine them, to break out of them.

[Kuznetsov] Our moratorium was described by administration officials as propaganda. Why is it that we have neither seen nor heard any such propaganda, in quotation marks, from them? Dr Bogdanov, why haven't they stopped their testing for at least 2 or 3 months?

[Bogdanov] It's clear for me why they didn't. They have suggested to the Congress a huge military budget, you know, for '87. Now, if they stop testing, if they join us in moratorium, the congress will put a very reasonable question to them: What the hell you are spending billions and billions on those toys while you stop (?nice little) the Soviet Union; you join them. Why do you need all this money? That's another reason why they are building up tension around Congress; first of all to my mind, around Congress. And if you look at the American scene, it's a very unfortunate, you know, development. Very unfortunate time in the sense that the military budget is in the Congress now, and they have to convince their Congress counterparts that the evil empire guys are so badly behaved that Americans have only one answer to that, to spend another billions and billions and billions. How they can stop now testing?

And you know, there's another point. There, I still have a question: Defense Guidance of 81 [words indistinct]

[Kuznetsov] Produced in 1982?

[Bogdanov] There were two Defense Guidance, but (?basics as they say) to build up such an American, such American nuclear might, that they will prevail in the Soviet Union, over the Soviet Union, and they will finish the military conflict on the terms favorable for America. Now, my question is: Is is valid for this administration or not? If you judge by the Reagan-Gorbachev communique after Geneva summit, where it is said that no side is aiming at the nuclear superiority, and where it is stated that the nuclear war is not winnable; so, my question is how that correlates to the American behavior when they don't stop testing? [sentence as heard] So where is the truth? Are the Defense Guidances still valid?

[Kuznetsov] I think...

[Bogdanov] Interrupting or these statements, very important statements in the joint communique are still valid or there are several American policies; one is for the public and one is for the Congress and that last one for the American Administration. I have no answer to that.

[Words indistinct due to multiple speakers]

[Plekhanov] I think those Guidances, I think those Defense Guidances are still valid, because they were drawn up by Caspar Weinberger, the defense secretary, and he says he is not signatory to any Soviet-American accord; he is just pushing ahead with star wars, with nuclear testing, with modernizing the arsenals and it fits; it perfectly fits into those Defense Guidances. You were absolutely right, they were drawn up in 1982, and I remember comments in THE NEW YORK TIMES: (?We) were bewildered, numbed, astonished, because actually those Guidances put the United States on a permanent war footing in peacetime with the Soviet Union because of this relentless military drive.

[Kuznetsov] Our time is running out. I'd like to conclude with this: On Radio Moscow we have a program called "Opinion Forum," on which we read the reaction of our listeners to the Soviet disarmament program announced by Mikhail Gorbachev, and also on our policy on nuclear testing. Thus far we haven't received a single letter praising the arms race, and well, I've brought some letters with me. They are from (Eric Milner) of Austin, Texas, they are from Mrs (Lynette Williams) of Oakland, California.

[Bogdanov] You have so many letters on this, I (?think) maybe this one?

[Kuznetsov] In his proposal, Mikhail Gorbachev addressed this problem where he pointed to the need to change the caveman mentality in which secutity was to be sought in a bigger stick or a heavier stone. Mikhail Gorbachev is absolutely right. Nuclear arms are not sticks and stones, and piling up more and more of them serves to (?diminish) rather than enhance security. And this is typical of responses that we get. And yet in the White House they cite national policy, national policy concerns, national security, and all that as a justification for the relentless military (?drive). And we know from the latest opinion polls in the United States that the majority of the Americans reject this build-up, this military drive. How can anyone talk about this military drive being in national interests if the people reject it?

[Plekhanov] Well, there is that old traditional approach coming from the Roman Empire, and it was striking to hear this approach referred to again. The ancient Romans, being quoted by Ronald Reagan, said that now, if you want peace, prepare for war, and he also mentioned that nobody ever crossed Jack Dempsey. Well, apparently because Jack Dempsey was a boxing champion, and he could beat the hell out of anyone who would cross him. But if you project it onto the military situation today with nuclear weapons, it would look as if Jack Dempsey would have deterred others not by his fists or his muscles or his reputation, but by just carrying a bomb around and threatening to explode it on (?himself). Because really it's very dangerous, very misleading to apply the obsolete dogma to the nuclear age, to this world of ours today which is so dynamic, so full of change, and so interdependent and so fragile that we really must work out a new approach to security. This is a difficult business; it involves changing a lot of ingrained attitudes. It involves a lot of dropping of old assumptions. We have started the process of updating and modernizing our approach to security, making it more enlightened, more in line with the realities of the world, and we are hoping to try to involve the American side in that process. And we are hoping that the common sense on that side will finally prevail. Otherwise there is no hope for survival.

[Kuznetsov] And we openly admit that there can be no Soviet security without that of the United States.

[Plekhanov] Obviously, obviously. Not only that there must be security on the American side, there must be just as much security. America must be able to feel as secure as we are, and vice versa. There must be equal security.

[Bogdanov] Yeah. Less American security means less Soviet security, because if they feel less secure they will do something to fill the gap. And that will provoke us, you know, for another reaction to that. So that's why that form of less security for one means less security for the other. I think it's very important [words indistinct]. Now, the last part of your question about public opinion polls. It's another example (?of) how this administration manipulates polls. When they have polls in their favor, they, you know...

[Kuznetsov] Advertise?

[Bogdanov] Advertise that at all levels as something very much proving and supporting this administration [as heard]. But if they have polls just contradicting their policy, they just don't mention them as they [as heard] were not existing at all. It's another example of a very high skill of manipulation, in this administration.

[Kuznetsov] Thank you, Dr Bogdanov; thank you Dr Plekhanov. You've heard "Top Priority" from the studios of the North American service of Radio Moscow. "Top Priority" is a weekly panel discussion, and I am Pavel Kuznetsov, your host. Goodbye till a week from now.

## CHERNYSHEV COMMENTS ON U.S. NUCLEAR TESTS

### Treaties Seen As 'Obstacles'

PM030853 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Mar 86 Second Edition p 5

[Observer on military questions V. Chernyshev "TASS Commentary for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA": "Who Is Hampered by the Treaties"]

[Text] The world is indignant at the provocative militarist actions of the U.S. Administration which despite the repeated calls of the Soviet Union and other countries and the broad public in the United States itself, has sanctioned another nuclear weapon test. The explosion carried out on the Nevada testing range 22 March is one more testimony to the fact that Washington's real aims is not the reduction and elimination of nuclear armaments but on the contrary their buildup and the creation of new types of nuclear weapons.

The new explosion and the refusal to resume talks on the total prohibition of nuclear tests are also evidence that the present U.S. leadership views the commitments previously adopted and the treaties and agreements signed as no more than obstactles in its desire to achieve military-strategic superiority for the United States.

Thus U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense R. Perle, addressing a subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee, frankly called for a large-scale ABM system with space-based elements to be deployed irrespective of "whether or not the Russians agree to conduct talks on reviewing" the ABM Treaty. According to him, in the meanhwile, even at the present stage of fulfillment of the "star wars" program which Washington makes out is a "research" program, it is necessary to adopt a "broad interpretation" of this treaty in order to carry out arms tests. As is well known, according to this "broad interpretation," invented in the United States only 6 months ago, despite the understanding which the Soviet Union and the four preceding U.S. administrations had of the ABM Treaty, it is claimed that developments [razrabotki] and tests of systems and so forth -- are not banned at all.

Consequently, in his address to the legislators Perle unabashedly set forth a program for the disruption of the ABM Treaty.

A threat also looms over the SALT II treaty. In May this year the U.S. Navy plans to launch the eighth Trident nuclear missile-carrying submarine -- the "Nevada." Unless the United States takes compensatory measures, for instance, unless it dismantles two old submarines with Poseidon missiles, then the limit set by the SALT II treaty for MIRV'd missile launchers.

But there are already figures in Washington who oppose the continuation of the United States' fulfillment of this treaty and the apologists of "star wars" have been in the front ranks of its opponents.

The leadership of the organization to implement the "Strategic Defense Initiative," for instance, is obstinately fighting for the conservation of existing missile-carrying Poseidon submarines in the Navy's fighting strength, because according to the Pentagon's plan they should become "ideal launchpads" for "exotic weapons" -- nuclear-pumped X-ray lasers. The "star warriors" are thus hampered not only by the ABM Treaty but also by the SALT II Treaty and they are calling for the renunciation of the fulfillment of its provisions.

All this shows that some people in Washington are obstinately seeking to think in old, hidebound categories. This has all happened before. Take just the now published recommendations for President H. Truman in the secret report prepared for him on U.S.-Soviet relations: "The United States with its military potential, consisting primarily of highly effective armaments, should not support any disarmament or arms limitation proposals." These are the "recommendations" which official Washington is now trying to follow, forgetting that it is not 1946 now.

It is time the U.S. leadership finally realized that this policy merely entails new dangers to the peoples, including the U.S. people. After all, security in our time can only be mutual. And that requires from everyone new thinking and an understanding of the fact that a global catastrophe can only be prevented by political means, on the path of talks and the conservation of accords already reached.

## Reagan's Reasoning 'Far-Fetched'

PM011553 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Apr 86 Second Edition p 3

[Article by military observer V. Chernyshev entitled "Inveterate Thinking in the Nuclear and Space Age"]

[Text] "The situation requires immediate action. It is not yet too late to halt the nuclear arms race. The first major stride in that direction is needed. Putting an end to nuclear testing by all, first of all by the Soviet Union and the United States, as well as by the other nuclear powers, could become such a step. We attach tremendous significance to the solution of this task which concerns the destiny of all people," Mikhail Gorbachev said in a Soviet TV address.

The question of ending nuclear testing assumed great importance in conditions when huge stockpiles of nuclear material have been accumulated in the world. Specialists the world over declared outright that the problem of moratorium on nuclear explosions is the touchstone to verify the real attitude of the leadership of any nuclear power to the very idea of nuclear disarmament. For an end to nuclear testing is the most real way to put an end to the arms race, since without such tests nuclear weapons cannot be refined, nor can new types of nuclear weapons be created.

Since 6 August 1985 the Soviet Union has abided by its unilaterally announced moratorium on all nuclear explosions and declared that it will not conduct nuclear explosions in the future if the United States does likewise. The USSR has proposed beginning talks without delay on a total nuclear weapon test ban, including questions of verification. M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has voiced readiness to meet with U.S. President R. Reagan in the very near future in any European capital to reach agreement on ending nuclear tests.

Thus, the Soviet side has done everything to promote the immediate reaching of an accord on this question.

And what about Washington? The U.S. Administration hastened to reject the Soviet initiative again. Its representatives declared that the White House has no intention to call of another nuclear explosion planned for mid-April and the President has no wish for a meeting on this question. What Washington plans to send to humanity is not a signal of peace but another shudder of nuclear explosion.

The U.S. side continues making references to verification problem in an effort to "substantiate" its negative stand. "In the field of nuclear testing, as in arms control generally, effective verification is a central element. It has also long been one of the most difficult problems to resolve," President Reagan declared. This reasoning is clearly far-fetched.

In the United States itself prominent specialists declared last year that the present-day level of the development of seismology and existing technical means of monitoring seismic waves give ground for confidence that secret nuclear explosions, even with a yield of not over a kiloton, can be promptly detected with the use of a network of seismic stations. Resolution No 3 endorsed by the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress on February 26 of this year says that substantial progress in methods of detection of underground nuclear explosions by seismic and other methods has been achieved.

Moreover, the Soviet Union declared that it is prepared to use any forms of verification -- by national technical means, with the use of international mechanisms, on-site inspections. Should doubts about the observance of commitments arise, let Americans go to the USSR and carry crates with equipment along, it declares. Adversaries of nuclear disarmament who made references to the problem of verification can no longer resort to their only remaining "argument". It has now become clear to the whole world that doubts about verification are false. The British newspaper THE TIMES wrote that the Soviet Union's readiness to ensure on-site inspections removed the West's objection to concluding a nuclear test ban treaty, the objection the West was regarding the most important one, and placed the USA in an extremely awkward position from the viewpoint of morality.

The arguments usually advanced in support of the United States rejecting the Soviet moratorium on nuclear testing are in the sphere of nuclear mythology, this is how the American BALTIMORE SUN commented on the stand of the White House. The Reagan administration put the U.S. policy on nuclear testing topsy turvy, THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote.

Camouflaging its obvious unwillingness to stop nuclear explosions, the White House pays lip service to "readiness" to the quest of the ways to ensure effective verification. "I urged the Soviet Union to join us without delay in bilateral discussions on finding ways to reach agreement on essential verification improvements of the Threshold Test Ban (TTBT) and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty (PNET)", the President of the United States loudly proclaimed.

The White House invited the USSR to send Soviet experts to observe a nuclear test at the Nevada test site in the third week of April to be able to discuss verification methods.

In this connection one cannot but recall the assessment given to a similar invitation by THE WASHINGTON POST newspaper.

It wrote that while the Soviet Union invites the President of the USA to a peaceful dinner, the American President invites the Soviet Union to a nuclear luncheon. The White House is really inviting the USSR to be an accomplice in a nuclear crime against the world. Neither the Soviet Union nor all other peoples need "nuclear shows". The Soviet Union's stand is clearcut and easy to understand by the whole world: Let us stop explosions first, so as to engage in verification later as much as possible and in every way conceivable.

The point of the matter is that the Soviet Union proposes disarmament and appropriate verification of it, while the United States talks about verification of the arms race. The Soviet Union proposes the verification of a complete end to testing, while the USA declares for the verification of testing. Washington has adopted the course at replacing the ban on nuclear explosions with their continuation and would also like the presence of Soviet representatives watching U.S. explosions to signify the Soviet Union's official consent to that U.S. challenge to peoples, to its ostentatious contempt for the world public opinion. The USA is showing neither a sense of reality nor a sense of responsibility.

It seems that they in Washington got accustomed to nuclear weapons and are linking with them their plans in the international arena. Still, whether U.S. politicians want it or not, they will have to answer the question if they are prepared to give up nuclear weapons at all.

## ASIAN-PACIFIC SECURITY CONFERENCE ADJOURNS

PM021437 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Mar 86 Morning Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Meeting in Ulaanbaatar"]

[Text] A consultative meeting of representatives of the parliaments of Vietnam, Cambodia, the DPRK, Laos, Mongolia, and the USSR was held in Ulaanbaatar on 26-27 March.

The meeting discussed the question of the parliaments' role in strengthening peace and security in the Asian and Pacific region. The meeting, which was held in a friendly atmosphere, confirmed the full mutual understanding and identity of views of the countries represented on the questions under discussion.

The meeting participants highly appreciated and unanimously supported the Soviet Union's proposal aimed at ridding mankind of the threat of nuclear war and of all kinds of weapons of mass extermination before the end of this century and at providing the preconditions for constructive and creative cooperation by all states and peoples. They are convinced that the forces of peace and reason can and must erect a firm barrier against the military preparations that are being implemented by the most aggressive militarist circles and that a responsible and serious approach by all states and peoples to the problem of war and peace would help to overcome the dangerous development of the international situation. To consolidate the positive foundations laid at the Geneva meeting between the Soviet and U.S. leaders it is particularly important that such an approach be manifested by the United States and its closest allies.

The meeting expressed concern at the complex and tense atmosphere created in various parts of Asia and the Pacific and Indian Oceans by the policy of the opponents of peace, international security, and the peoples' independence and sovereignty.

The participants in the meeting urge the parliaments of all countries to step up as much as possible the struggle on a national, regional, and world basis to end the arms race on earth, prevent the militarization of space, and fundamentally improve the international situation. They believe that the most urgent present-day task is for all peace-loving democratic, and progressive forces to pool their efforts in the struggle for mankind's peaceful future.

The meeting stressed the need for the expansion of cooperation among the Asian countries' parliaments in the struggle against the threat of war, for peace, and for the preparation and subsequent convening of a pan-Asian forum to resolve security questions. It also stressed the importance of more active cooperation among parliaments and parliamentarians in implementing the foreign policy initiatives of the socialist and other states, aimed at strengthening peace and security in the Asian and Pacific region including proposals on a comprehensive approach to the problem of security in Asia; the application of confidence-building measures in the Far East; the conclusion by the Asian and Pacific countries of a convention on mutual nonaggression and the nonuse of force; the removal of all types of nuclear weapons from South Korea, the improvement of the situation on the Korean peninsula, and its transformation into a nuclear-free peace zone; the development of dialogue between the ASEAN and Indochinese countries and the creation of a zone of peace, stability, and cooperation in Southeast Asia; and on creating a peace zone in the Indian Ocean.

The implementation of these and other constructive proposals would be contribution to fulfilling the idea of an all-embracing international security system, put forward by the 27th CPSU Congress.

The participants expressed satisfaction at the results of the exchange of opinions that held and recognized the usefulness of continuing to hold such meetings with the aim of coordinating further efforts to strengthen peace, security, mutual understanding, and cooperation among the states and peoples of the vast and diverse Asian and Pacific region.

The participants in the meeting resolutely condemn the entirely unprovoked U.S. armed action against sovereign nonaligned Libya and demand that the United States immediately end its aggressive actions, which represent a serious threat to peace and security in the region and throughout the world.

## GORBACHEV DISCUSSES DOMESTIC, INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

PM021627 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Apr 86 First Edition pp 1, 2

["M.S. Gorbachev's Answers to the Algerian Journal REVOLUTION AFRICAINE" -- PRAVDA headline; first two grafs are unattributed introduction.]

[Text] The Algerian journal REVOLUTION AFRICAINE has asked M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to answer a number of questions and also to receive and talk with Zoubir M. Souissi, chief editor of REVOLUTION AFRICAINE, the Algerian weekly organ of the National Liberation Front Party. The conversation took place on 31 March 1986. A.N. Yakovlev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in it.

Question: The CPSU has just passed a turning point in its development. The 27th congress was a congress of innovation and bold strategy both as far as the life of the party is concerned and in relation to the development of the economy and Soviet society. Could you tell us about the factors prompting these plans?

Answer: Well, we probably have reason to agree with your assessments of the character of the 27th congress. For Soviet Communists, it really has been of historic significance because we are dealing with the resolution of the imposing task of achieving a NEW QUALITATIVE STATE OF SOVIET SOCIALIST SOCIETY [uppercase passage published in boldface]. So the present moment really is a turning point in the country's life.

Only we must be clear here. Apart from professional anti-Soviets, no one any longer seems to deny our achievements. I believe that your journal's readers will know the road that our country has traveled. It is the road from a backward, ruined country to a leading power in both sociopolitical and economic terms.

Our revolution had many enemies -- too many. I have in mind not only the imperialist plunderers who did everything possible to turn us back to the semicolonial past. I also have in mind the mass illiteracy, the poverty, the age-old oppression that people felt. But that is the fate of a true people's revolution, which always meets resistance from the forces of the world. You know that in your country from your own experience.

The most severe tests have fallen to our people's lot. Suffice it to recall the fascist invasion that carried off millions and millions of human lives and left our cities and countryside in ruins. Yet even that was overcome by the Soviet people's heroic labor. In a matter of years the country was truly reborn.

Today we have a powerful production potential at our disposal and our national economy is marching steadily upward. In the last quarter-century alone the country's fixed production capital has increased sevenfold. Our industry has progressed at double the pace of the developed capitalist states. Soviet people's prosperity has increased radically. Real per capita income has increased 2.6 times in a quarter-century.

I know that people in the West like to talk about the Soviet Union's so-called lag so far as the development of modern science and technology is concerned. I would suggest that the outstanding discoveries and accomplishments of Soviet scientific-technical thought in the most varied spheres speak more eloquently than any denials. Suffice it to recall the first earth satellite and the Yuriy Gagarin flight, which opened the space age, and the success of the recent "Venus-Halley's Comet" project. This unique research venture fused together the achievements of Soviet physics and machine building, mathematics, and instrument making, and other spheres of science and technology with the professional skill of the working class.

However, I do not intend to enter into empty polemics with people who would be prepared to slander even themselves, provided they were well paid. Simply, I know that in all spheres of knowledge we have highly trained specialists and excellent production workers at our disposal. Our engineers, technicians, workers, and doctors have been working in Algeria for many years now, incidentally, and as far as I know they are working successfully. Their Algerian colleagues consider such cooperation extremely useful.

Of course, the question may be asked: If Soviet society has been developing successfully in the past decades, why the profound changes which have been outlined by the 27th party congress? Well, you see, while paying due tribute to what has been done, we want to move forward more rapidly, on a new qualitative basis. Socialism's creative potential is such that we can resolve tasks more complex and on a larger scale than in the past. Complacency goes against the very nature of the Communist Party, against the nature of socialist society and of our morality.

And that is why the 27th congress openly and honestly discussed not only the achievements but also our mistakes and blunders. To a certain extent we have been set at our ease by the development potential lying, so to say, on the surface. The economy has developed to a significant degree on an extensive basis, through the recruitment of additional labor and material resources into production. The structure of national economic management had not changed for decades, even though the development of production forces dictated the need to restructure production relations. Hence a slowdown in growth rates and insufficient energy in assimiling the latest scientific-technical achievements in our economy.

Our straight talking about shortcomings was necessary and is aimed at the maximum mobilization of the advantages of socialist production, which by its very essence is capable of constant renewal and improvement. I would remind you of the words of K. Marx, who said of revolutions back in the 19th century that they "constantly criticize themselves..., return to what appears to be already fulfilled so as to start afresh once again, and ridicule with merciless thoroughness the half-baked nature, the weak aspects, and the worthlessness of their first attempts...." Forcefully put, and well put.

So, to put it as briefly as possible, at the congress we soberly assessed our forces and our potential and we saw that we could work better. That is the main motive prompting the need to accelerate the country's socioeconomic development.

As far as the international aspects of the acceleration strategy are concerned, the following needs to be stressed. Socialism is not developing within the boundaries of some isolated island. A competition is in progress between two social systems -- the socialist and the capitalist. That competition -- and we want it to be peaceful and only peaceful -- of itself obliges us to show concern about accelerating socioeconomic development. Socialism does not have the right to lag behind. With today's resources at its disposal -- and that means not just production and scientific-technical potential but, above all, people who love their country and are ready to do everything necessary to enable it to flourish -- the party has set a course with every reason and confidence toward the acceleration of the country's development.

Question: One gets the impression that questions concerning the economy and the USSR's social development are the object of your main concern among all the problems which you broached at the congress. The strategic avenues of development have been mapped out with due consideration for the process of acceleration which you initiated. What are the basic directions, means, and objectives of the new policy?

Answer: I have, to a certain extent, already answerd this question. But it is perhaps necessary to emphasize once more: The economy and, of course, social policy are the main concern of the Communist Party as a ruling party.

As regards the acceleration strategy, it encompasses all aspects of society's life: the economy, science and technology, the social sphere, and society's spiritual life. In some cases directly, in others, indirectly.

We have embarked on reconstruction of the national economy on the basis of the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress and will create the most favorable conditions for the development of science, both fundamental and applied. We are changing the structural and investment policy with a view to ensuring accelerated growth of machine building and other leading sectors of industry. I want to stress that these are not intentions or wishful thinking, but an organic element of our present work.

Radical economic reforms and restructuring of the economic machinery constitute another important element of economic strategy. Its essence is to harmoniously combine the advantages of centralized planning with expansion of the independence and enhancement of the responsibility of production associations and enterprises. And the thrust is obvious: To subordinate our entire production to social needs and to orient management toward enhancement of efficiency and quality. To put it briefly, to arrange matters so that the entire national economy functions dynamically, as if in accordance with a self-regulating system.

For us the strategy of acceleration also means development of the political system, the system of socialist democracy under which all power belongs to the people. We perceive it as our task to deepen the people's socialist self-management and to involve working people most fully in the running of state and social affairs. Essentially speaking, broad democracy provides the obligatory climate which creates conditions for the fullest display of the creative potential of both society and the individual. It begins with intraparty democracy, with free open discussion of all problems perturbing society, as it happened during the precongress discussion and at the 27th congress itself.

A discussion about socialist democracy cannot, of course, be complete in a relatively brief answer. Here it would also be necessary to speak in detail about our state and social institutions, of how the work of soviets of people's deputies, with their millions-strong aktiv, is organized. Now I would like to draw attention to the following: The congress urgently raised the question concerning publicity in the activity of state, party, and other public organizations. We consider that there cannot be varying degrees of truth. There is just one truth, and it must be total.

We are speaking openly about everything because we have faith in our strength and know now just what has to be done but also how it is to be done. Let me note that the party's prestige grows only when it is capable of setting correct tasks and is able to heed well the working people's voice, to be aware of their opinions, and to fearlessly evaluate its mistakes.

And of course, the core of the acceleration strategy is a strong and comprehensive social policy. Production does not exist for its own sake. Production exists for the people. It cannot be otherwise under socialist conditions, where there is no private ownership and where all enterprises belong to the people and serve the people's needs. After all, in our country we have no rich people who would subordinate production to their own interests.

Let me add to what I have already said that when we tackle the restructuring of secondary and higher education, aim at improving health care services, and embark on the construction of a new network of sanatoriums, rest homes, cultural centers, and sports complexes -- all this ultimately boils down to the creation of proper material conditions for the harmonious development of the individual and for people's creative work. A work that not only makes society richer, but also enriches man spiritually.

Question: You advocate new approaches toward questions concerning the organization of production and the assessment of the labor factor, bearing in mind the enhancement of their efficiency. This leads to a restructuring of habits and reorientation of views. How is the CPSU preparing for this new situation?

Answer: An interesting question although, in my view, the necessary answer has already been given in the 27th congress decisions.

As regards the organization of labor, our orientation is as follows: establishment of financial autonomy, ensuring profitability and self-financing in all urban and rural enterprises, broad utilization of economic incentives, correct utilization of the instruments of goods-money relations, encouragement of socialist enterprise, and establishment of direct ties between producers and consumers.

When we undertook the implementation of economic experiments in the national economy -- and they are now being expanded -- we were able to see for ourselves that the very first steps yield high returns. There is a double gain here: Society gains by receiving larger quantities of essential and high-quality output; the labor collective gains since it has been empowered to utilize a large proportion of the income it receives at its own discretion.

As regards the assessment of every man's labor and labor efforts, we are guided by the well known Marxist formula: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his labor." This is the meaning of social justice, when everyone receives the quantity of benefits he has earned by his work.

You spoke in your question about a turnabout in habits and views, and asked how the CPSU prepares for this new situation. We have declared war on conservatism, bureaucracy, economic mismanagement, breaches of discipline, and sluggishness in everything. It seems to me that the party's entire activity since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, during the period of preparations for the 27th party congress, and the course of its work show convincingly that our course encounters understanding and energetic support by Communists and the broadest masses of working people. There is, of course, much work to be done and the leaders and all working people -- workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia -- must orient themselves toward new approaches.

Question: You make no secret of your financial difficulties as regards the attainment of objectives concerning the process of accelerating the USSR's socioeconomic development. If international relations do not change in a way more favorable for the cause of peace and cooperation, how do you intend to obtain the resources necessary for the transition to this qualitatively new stage?

Answer: Something is not quite right here. We are not complaining about our financial situation, although we have no superfluous resources. Moreover, in the light of the challenging imperialist policy, we have to divert part of our resources to the strengthening of our country's defense capability. We will continue to do this: The peaceful labor of the Soviet people and of our friends and allies will continue to be reliably protected.

But we do have the necessary resources to ensure the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. We are orienting ourselves primarily at internal accumulations. This is the only reliable way. I do not know about others, but we are aware that imperialism has introduced in the practice of modern international economic relations such uncivilized methods as various forms of discrimination, sanctions, economic blockades, embargos, trade bans, and so on.

We do have sufficient material potential to implement our plans. The course of retooling and reconstruction of existing enterprises on which we have embarked not only demands expenditure but also creates additional resources. There is obviously no need to prove that society develops and progresses on the basis of growing labor productivity and rising production efficiency. The acceleration of resources turnover will yield much. Not to mention the application of energy-saving technologies, fundamental improvement of capital construction, and so on.

There can be no disputing that we will also utilize our extensive economic ties with foreign countries in the interest of development. This is a normal phenomenon. Let me repeat, however, that we are not making our plans dependent on the intentions of other states toward our country. Although, of course, we have been and remain convinced advocates of broad international business ties.

Question: Military competition with the West and in particular the "star wars" project are, no doubt, the major obstacle for your economic and social plans. But the Geneva summit meeting and your 15 January 1986 statement sought to offer prospects for the more peaceful and favorable development of all mankind. What is to be expected from your forthcoming meeting with the head of the White House?

Answer: Very well, let us revert to the Geneva meeting. We approached it seriously. On the eve of the meeting we came out with constructive proposals. Let me recall them.

The Soviet Union introduced a 6-month unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions as of 6 August last year. We proposed that Washington follow our example in order to make the moratorium permanent, eternal. The answer was an invitation to attend the next nuclear test in Nevada.

On the eve of the New Year, 1986 -- which has been proclaimed to be Peace Year by the United Nations -- we declared an extension to the moratorium on nuclear explosions for a further 3 months. The answer was given by U.S. nuclear explosions.

Finally, quite recently, in connection with the appeal from the leaders of six states, we made the decision to adhere to the moratorium until the first nuclear explosion by the American side. But the Pentagon immediately speeds up the holding of new nuclear tests. We shall have to draw conclusions from this. I have no doubt that other peace-loving countries and the international public will also draw conclusions. It is particularly clear today who is who in world politics. Militarism, the ideology of which holds sway in the leading imperialist countries, has utterly exposed itself.

Now to turn to our proposals of 15 January this year. I shall not recall their content. It is common knowledge. This is something more than an invitation to serious dialogue. We expounded an integral and honest program of how to make the world safer, deliver it from nuclear weapons, to prevent an arms race in space, and to substantially cut back conventional arms.

The United States reflected for a long time, for more than a month. I have already had occasion to speak about the American response. We have heard neither a clear "yes" nor constructive ideas from the administration regarding overcoming the evil logic of the arms race.

Moreover, let us consider the initiative on the elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe which in a certain respect has something in common with former U.S. opinions on this problem -- that too is being ignored. We discover -- and this is happening not only at the Geneva talks, but others as well -- that as soon as we take a step in the direction of the U.S. stance, the United States takes a step back from that stance.

Is an improvement of Soviet-American relations really possible outside of practical decisions on curtailing the arms race? Is it really possible to proceed toward trust while at the same time replenishing arsenals with increasingly sophisticated instruments of war? We are convinced that another road leads to peace, the road away from the arms race toward disarmament.

For this, it is necessary to renounce the old way of thinking whereby even today the leaders of imperialism **regard the postulate** to the ancient Roman legionaires -- "If you want peace, prepare for war" -- as applicable to international relations.

The summit meeting opened slightly the door leading to a world of hope. But how the people connected with the U.S. military-industrial complex took fright at this ray of light! How forcefully they leaned on that "door" in order to slam it!

Both I and my comrades in the party leadership are trying to fathom what the U.S. Administration is in fact striving after. Is it war? But I think that Washington has a good idea as to what nuclear war is. So what is the meaning of all these attempts to perpetuate confrontation and still more, to kindle it, and what is the meaning of the latest outburst of bellicose rhetoric? The actions of the United States in Nicaragua and against Libya and Afghanistan, the violation of the USSR's territorial waters by warships, the support for the troglodytic regime of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa, and much else that today characterizes the international behavior of the United States -- where is all this leading and what specific interests does it serve?

We also are familiar with the calculations on exhausting the Soviet Union in the arms race. They are extremely long-standing and, I shall say bluntly, foolish. Nothing will come of this and so the Americans are expending to no purpose both their money and their strength on the implementation of a doctrine that failed long ago.

But these calculations do not just concern the Soviet Union. They also strike at the interests of the developing states and affect the United States' own allies. And the United States itself is being plunged increasingly deeply into a maelstrom of problems, both domestic and foreign that have been engendered by their imperial, militarist policy.

Washington's actions contradict accords that have been reached. An anti-Geneva syndrome is intensifying there which, of course, is creating no small difficulties in the development of Soviet-American relations.

Question: Peace does not mean just the elimination of nuclear weapons and their nonsiting in space. For many peoples who are still oppressed it begins with gaining the fundamental right to national sovereignty. However, numerous peoples who have been waging the struggle to liberate their motherland for decades cannot achieve the satisfaction of their aspirations because of a lack of more active and consistent support in the international arena. How can you explain the current decline in the national liberation movement in the world?

Answer: A little history. Recent decades have seen the collapse of colonial empires, the upsurge of anticolonial revolutions, and the rebirth and emergence of dozens and dozens of new states. Today the liberated countries account for almost half of mankind, and they determine the nature and course of world events to a great extent. I am confident that their role and the role of the Nonaligned Movement in international affairs and in determining the routes that civilization will follow in the future will grow. Thus, the results of the national liberation movements are of abiding significance. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries state frankly that our sympathies are fully on the side of the peoples struggling for freedom, national independence, and social progress.

We have rendered and will continue to render them extensive support -- political, moral, and material. Let me stress that the Soviet Union seeks no one-sided benefits for itself here -- political or economic.

Something else is also true. Having gained political independence and seized their destiny in their own hands, the liberated peoples have been compelled to wage a difficult struggle to overcome economic backwardness and poverty and strengthen their sovereignty. In order to crush the liberated countries and halt the course of history the forces of imperialism, primarily American imperialism, resort to everything -- economic subversion, political provocations, direct strong-arm pressure. This course is underpinned with the hastily devised "new globalism doctrine." In general terms there is nothing new here; an attempt is being made to return to the old, classical -- so to speak -- system of brigandage.

What if not the old "gunboat policy" are the piractical U.S. actions off the shores of Libya? This is how it is interpreted throughout the world. Evidently past lessons have not benefitted Washington, which has repeatedly had to pay for its military adventures. The United States' anti-Libyan actions are not something in isolation. What fantasies have American politicians not dreamed up about the USSR and Cuba to justify the expansion of the military adventure against Nicaragua.

The American Administration has taken into its embrace Afghan dushmans, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola bandits in Angola, and the South African racists alike. And all, it transpires, for the sake of asserting the ideals of peace and freedom. I have no doubt that without American interference in other states' internal affairs regional conflicts would become a thing of the past and would be resolved much more simply and justly.

Exceptional importance is attached to the fact that there is a growing understanding of the organic interconnection between the solution of the problems of strengthening international security and the guaranteeing of the reliable, confident, and independent development of the liberated states.

Question: The world economic crisis has not bypassed anybody, particularly the "Third World" countries. The decline in oil prices, the continuing decline in the prices of other raw materials, and the shortage of food in the world are all problems threatening an increase in the dependence of the countries of the "Third World," which is burdened by big foreign debts. The USSR is also affected by certain manifestations of this crisis. What role will the Soviet Union be able to play in seeking ways to overcome it?

Answer: I agree with you. The position of the developing countries is alarming, while that of some of them is even tragic.

For what is happening? Keeping these countries in an inequitable position, imperialism is shifting onto them the consequences of the disorder in its own economy. Hence the lowest raw material prices in 50 years, the fall in oil prices, and the food shortage.

Imperialism is making a fortune and getting rich by exploiting young states. It is financing the arms race largely at their expense. And so it turns out: On the one hand, the developing countries' trillion-dollar debt and, on the other, the superprofits of multinational corporations and banks.

This imperialist policy is well known in Asian, African, and Latin American countries and also throughout the world. It is a fact that developing states spend more than $100 billion a year just on paying interest on foreign debts. They pay more than they receive in new credits. Or another expressive fact: For every dollar invested in Latin America, American multinational corporations put $2.5 in profits into their own pocket. Cruel bookkeeping, but imperialism knows no other.

The Soviet Union is far from indifferent to this state of affairs. We for our part exert a stabilizing influence on the markets for many commodities, including those exported by developing countries, through our foreign trade. The USSR's economic and technical assistance to these countries works in the same direction, helping to shape the national base of science and industry and to modernize agriculture. Our credits are repaid by developing young states' exports, and therefore no drama of indebtedness arises here. Of course, events on world markets also affect us to a certain degree. Crises in the West reduce the demand for our exports. Inflation makes imports more costly.

How to cure the world economy? Together with the developing states, we advocate restructuring international economic relations on just, democratic bases. It would be possible to begin such a reorganization by implementing the most important points in the program for a new international economic order. Our concept of ensuring the economic security of states is fully consonant with it. It provides for all forms of discrimination to be excluded from international practice, the problem of debts to be settled fairly, and the efforts of all countries to be pooled in solving global problems, including, of course, the problem of development.

I wish to repeat: Peace and development are indivisible, and the fundamental interests of the socialist and the developing countries coincide in achieving them.

Question: Our countries have much in common in their approach to the cause of the struggle for the peoples' liberation and for peace. Relations were established between us very long ago, and the time has come to sum up in order to assess their significance objectively and to outline real paths for further development. What is the future holding for us in this sphere?

Answer: Precisely this was the subject of the substantive and fruitful talks that I had with President C. Bendjedid of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria [DPRA]. I am sure that during these days the USSR and Algeria have shown once again how useful and full cooperation built on the principles of equal rights and strict respect for each other's sovereignty can be.

What lies ahead? In accordance with the Long-Term Program for Economic, Trade, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation Between the USSR and the DPRA new scope will be imparted to Soviet-Algerian economic ties. The power industry, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, the oil and gas industry, geology, metal working and machine building, agriculture, water resources, forestry, fishing -- this is a far from complete list of the sectors in which it is planned to implement interesting joint projects.

We are convinced that our cooperation in training national cadres is supremely promising. Knowledge, culture, and experience are all vitally important both for the present and even more so for the future.

The Soviet-Algerian talks provide further convincing proof that in the struggle to preserve peace our countries are not fellow travellers but real partners. This applies equally to the assertion of a new just economic international economic order and to the overcoming of conflict situations on the basis of strict respect for each people's right to determine its own path to the future. In a word, we are completely satisfied with the results of the talks and believe that the accords reached will serve well interests of our countries' peoples and the interests of peace and social progress.

M.S. Gorbachev: I welcome you, I am glad to meet you, make your acquaintance. I am particularly pleased to do this now, immediately after the visit to the Soviet Union by your republic's president, Comrade Chadli Bendjedid. It was a great event in our relations and I think also on the international plane, a major event on a truly world scale.

It seems to me that we parted equally convinced that this visit to our country by the President would lend new impetus to our relations, which are already of a high level.

You have obviously been familiarized with the content of the replies to your questions. Despite the fact that I have virtually no time, I considered it my duty to respond to your request, taking into account the friendly relations between our countries and the fact that your journal addresses a wide audience in the country, in Africa, and indeed in Europe.

Zoubir M. Souissi: Yes, we are indeed also read in Europe.

M.S. Gorbachev: If you still want to ask something in addition to the questions that you put in written form, I am at your service.

Zoubir M. Souissi: Yes, I would indeed like to ask you two questions prompted by your speech on Soviet television on Saturday.

The first question is: After the United States rejected the unilateral moratorium proposed by the Soviet Union, the Americans are now also rejecting your proposal for a meeting in a European capital, justifying this by your alleged refusal to come to the United States in Accordance with your promise. How do matters stand in reality and will this meeting take place in the United States or elsewhere?

M.S. Gorbachev: In my speech 2 days ago I did indeed appeal to President Reagan not to delay but to meet in the very near future in a European capital for one purpose -- discussing urgently the sole question of halting nuclear tests. That is not in place of our meeting in the United States, which we discussed in Geneva and which in this case I did not touch on.

The whole world, not only the Soviet Union, but all peoples including the U.S. people, are worried that in such a fundamental issue of war and peace as the arms race and the reduction of nuclear arms there are virtually no positive advances. The talks are under way. Yes, they are under way. But so far they have produced no results.

The Soviet leadership believes that some major step is needed to lead the nuclear arms reduction talks out of their deadlock and thus initiate movement toward the goal on which it seemed to us we and the Americans were agreed: to wit, gradually moving to the reduction of nuclear weapons in order to eventually destroy them completely.

When on 15 January, in the statement with which you are familiar, we proclaimed our specific program for the elimination of nuclear weapons, the U.S. President said he welcomed our further step in this process and recalled his similar statements in 1983 and since. Indeed, in Geneva we also agreed that nuclear war is impermissible and that there can be no winners in it.

That means that the result is that we are saying one and the same thing fundamentally. But we are quite incapable of moving from a standstill at the Geneva talks in order to begin real headway toward the goal that the Soviet and U.S. sides proclaimed.

We believe that halting of nuclear explosions and beginning talks on an agreement to ban them in all spheres could be the first step in this direction.

Our idea is simple: We are constantly seeking ways and means to initiate headway with the Americans and other nuclear powers along the path of reducing nuclear armaments, but first of all with the U.S. Administration.

The conclusion of an agreement on halting nuclear tests between the Soviet Union and the United States would be of enormous real importance because it would erect an obstacle to the improvement of nuclear weapons and the creation of new types of these weapons. But this step would also have tremendous political and indeed moral importance as an example of joint actions by the two great powers which have a special responsibility.

Although we did not immediately hear a negative statement in response to this new appeal of mine to the President -- actually, the U.S. Administration repeated what it had said earlier -- we nonetheless hope that the President and his immediate entourage and Congress will give this proposal of ours further consideration.

As for my visit to the United States, this question is kept in sight by the Soviet and U.S. sides.

That perhaps answers your first question.

Zoubir M. Souissi: Allow me to turn to the second question. Is dialogue still possible between the Soviet Union, which advocates peace, and the U.S. Administration, which is of a revanchist and unyielding frame of mind?

M.S. Gorbachev: You are asking a complex question. But we have now made it a rule and a principle -- in our domestic and foreign policy -- not to avoid difficult questions or any problems. Proceeding from that premise, I will also answer your question.

I would emphasize the fact that dialogue between the leadership of the Soviet Union and the U.S. Administration is essential. Without the normalization of Soviet-U.S. relations, without joint efforts by the Soviet Union and the United States to end the arms race with a view to eliminating nuclear weapons and normalizing international relations -- political, economic, trade, and cultural relations -- it is difficult to count on normalizing the international situation. We have always emphasized that. And this is evidence of the seriousness of our intentions.

For all the importance of the Soviet Union and the United States and the part they play, we must also take into account the fact that hundreds of states and peoples live in the world and want to live better lives and are building their plans for the future. The Soviet leadership and the U.S. Administration must take that into account.

I believe that what we said at the 27th party congress about our attitude toward international affairs and international cooperation is a persuasive argument for a respectful attitude toward all peoples and is evidence of our understanding of our responsibility for preserving and strengthening peace and normalizing international relations not only to our people but also to other people. So for all the importance of Soviet-U.S. relations, we cannot fail to take that into account.

Nonetheless, by virtue of objective reasons, the role and therefore the responsibility of the Soviet Union and the United States for the state of affairs in the world are great. I repeat that we are seeking to be equal to this responsibility. But matters in the world will proceed more rapidly and confidently along the path of normalization if the same understanding and the same responsibility attend the U.S. Administration as well. We invite the President, the U.S. Government, and Congress to display the practical will and seek ways to normalize and develop Soviet-U.S. relations, ways to improve the situation as a whole.

Our assessment is that there is now a difficult period in these relations. But we do not look at these relations without hope and, for our part, we are trying to do what depends on us, proceeding from definite real, practical steps to create an appropriate atmosphere for improving relations and political dialogue.

Zoubir M. Souissi: I thank you for the great honor given to our journal and for the opportunity to convey through it your message of peace to the Algerian people and all freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples. Peace is now the most important thing.

M.S. Gorbachev: We are convinced of that. Anyone who has followed the work of our congress and is familiar with its documents knows that that is precisely what we want to bring to the whole world -- a message of peace from the Soviet people to the whole world. Peace must be struggled for. "If you want peace -- struggle for peace!"

Please convey through your journal best wishes to the friendly Algerian people and all readers of your journal.

## COMMENTATORS VIEW ISSUES ON 'STUDIO 9' PROGRAM

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["Studio 9" program presented by Professor Valentin Sergeyevich Zorin, political observer of Soviet television and radio with Academician Georgiy Arkadyevich Arbatov, director of the United States of America and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and Vitaliy Ivanovich Kobysh, political observer]

[Text] [Zorin] Hello, comrades: We are beginning our traditional "Studio 9" discussion at Ostankino television center. The discussion is devoted to current problems in world politics. Today's "Studio 9" guests are: Academician Georgiy Arkadyevich Arbatov, director of the United States of America and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and political observer Vitaliy Ivanovich Kobysh.

Since the end of the 27th CPSU Congress, world interest in that event has not diminished, on the contrary the ideas outlined and the decisions adopted at the congress have increasingly influenced the course of the political process in the world. It is impossible not to notice that the events during the weeks following the congress as well as in the last few days show everyone the scope, correctness, and volume of the analysis of the world political process made by our party's 27th congress. I think that in our discussion today, or at any rate within the framework of the discussion, we shall deal with some of the most important general propositions advanced at the congress, as well as the light being shed by the congress resolutions on events taking place now in the international arena. I would like to begin our discussion with the following: Since the end of the congress there have been reactions by political parties, movements, statesmen, governments, mass media organs -- significant, important, and interesting reaction -- and I would like you, Vitaliy Ivanovich, to characterize this reaction however briefly, in a condensed manner.

[Kobysh] The world received the 27th CPSU Congress as the most important milestone toward a future-oriented process and as decisive in the life of our country, the meaning and content of which were determined at last year's April CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Reaction to the congress was of course varied, yet it had a common denominator -- increased interest. The socialist community's attitude was clearly formulated by Poland's Wojciech Jaruzelski on his return home from Moscow.

He said: Addressing its entire essence to peace and social programs, socialism today demonstrates with renewed vigor the youth, viability, creative power, and capability to achieve new frontiers. There has been a huge response to the 27th CPSU Congress resolutions, and first of all the program for peace, the proposal to create a comprehensive system of international security in the so-called Third World -- the developing countries -- adopted at the congress.

By the way, the same can be said about reaction to the congress in many Western capitalis countries. There, the Draft Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and the Period Through the Year 2000 as approved by the congress are being carefully studied in direct relation to the potentials they open for their own economies. A very different view of past events, of what is happening now, and of our targets -- all that was so clearly illustrated at the congress -- has been shown to those who watch our life with very unfriendly eyes. I refer first of all to the Washington administration and to NATO. They not only follow most carefully what happens in our country, but also clearly experience some discomfort and concern while doing so. Let us ask ourselves a question that inevitably arises: Why did the U.S. President send an ambiguous yet official reply to the Soviet proposals of 15 January, 2 days before the opening of the congress? Apparently there was a desire not only to reject the most important problems raised in our proposals, but also somehow to divert attention from the work of the congress, to switch attention to something else. Some other questions arise. Why is it that precisely after the congress, the Washington administration became so active? Why did it proceed with all of its provocations, the muscle-flexing game? Why did the event on the southern coast of Crimea occur? Why have U.S. aggressive actions intensified around Nicaragua? And finally, what has happened in Libya? We shall talk about these reactions.

[Zorin] Georgiy Arkadyevich, we have in our hands considerable material for analysis. Beginning with international reaction to the 27th CPSU Congress, which has now become sufficiently clear, I would like to ask you how you assess the main points of the 27th congress' international significance.

[Arbatov] I would point out two things, and I would like to begin with what may seem somewhat unexpected in a discussion on the international significance -- on the foreign political significance of the congress: The most important point was the amount of attention to the congress paid to accelerating the country's social and economic development, the determination to expose defects, and the reports on obstacles to progress, that is, the determination displayed at the congress to overcome all of these obstacles and to quickly and successfully move along the path of social and economic development outlined by the congress. And you know, if we talk frankly about our enemies, especially the most inverterate ones, they fear most of all the prospect of Soviet, Cuban, and Nicaraguan attacks on the United States through Mexico. They use that to frighten their public, the man in the street, but they themselves hardly fear it, just like the notorious Soviet move toward warm seas. What they fear most of all is the successful development of socialism, a new system, the successful development of socialism first of all in our country and other socialist countries.

They are not only frightened because that evidently increases our foreign political possibilities, and here I include defense of course, and the possibilities for exerting economic influence on international events, the course of international development. Our enemies, more than anyone else, know very well the true power of the example of socialism, and the significance of the growing prestige of the new social system. And, precisely because of this, they placed great hopes on the shortcomings which accumulated in our country, the difficulties we experienced, and now, when it has become very evident to all that we have made serious efforts to put an end to these shortcomings and move forward, this has caused very serious concern among our enemies. This very great anxiety is the most important point in all our enemies' reaction to the congress.

[Zorin] Georgiy Arkadyevich, well, here we have a certain element, circumstance. Strong self-criticism of our defects has been and is being voiced, and this self-criticism is used by enemy propaganda to cause harm to our country, for open slander against socialism. This fact...

[Arbatov, interrupting] You know, yes, that is a fact, and bourgeois propaganda has used, is using, and will continue to use, our self-criticism. But the issue here goes much deeper. When shortcomings exist, they are evident whether or not you criticize them. The study of statistics, the study of exports and imports, even the state of your accounts in foreign banks tell much. And specialists see much, and there is no need to criticize oneself for the world to have an idea about the quality of equipment and machines we manufacture, about the existence of interruptions in supply; have an idea about what we purchase and what we sell. Much has been said about this. I would say that it is something different when nothing is said about defects, when there is unrestrained self-praise and defects are not mentioned. I think this is what filled our enemies with serious hopes about things going downhill, so to speak. And now I would add that I read the press carefully and have had meetings with many foreigners since the congress, and I firmly believe that the flow has not at all increased because of this self-criticism; I would say that there has even been a reduction in these hostile, sensational statements against the Soviet Union...

[Zorin, interrupting] Fewer sensational statements, less material...

[Arbatov] Of course. You understand that, when things have been said over a long period of time, even about something that did not exist, let alone what does or does not exist, the moment the ban on the obvious is lifted, it ceases to be an object of speculation.

[Zorin] Georgiy Arkadyevich, there is another version or idea going around. According to this idea, the greater our successes, the more frenziedly they struggle against us, the greater the mobilization of the West's propaganda machine and politicians and therefore, supposedly, a growth in our successes brings the threat of a growth in this campaign.

[Arbatov] Well, you know, I think this is a very simplified view; in reality, the picture is different. In reality you see, it is precisely when we show weakness, when there is a weakness somewhere, that great hopes appear in our enemy and he begins to intensify his attacks against us.

In fact, I would add that this hardening of U.S. policy and the predominance in it in recent years of the ideas and ideals of extreme right-wing circles is no coincidence. It was not by chance that this coincided with that fairly difficult period in our lives. So, you see what is happening: It is only when we are developing successfully that the other side, capitalism, is forced to seriously consider that this is a reality with which it must get along, with socialism I mean. And it must learn to get along with it in peace. In fact, a successful and normal life and development of socialism is an inalienable element in peaceful coexistence. It cannot be otherwise. If this were not so, why would capitalism need to think about under what conditions it must coexist with socialism. It would be faced with another task; to wait and nudge us, and make our life more difficult.

In fact, this is precisely where the matter lies. I even think there is something else. What we have seen in recent weeks, this completely hysterical hardening of U.S. policy, is possibly an expression of a desire to complicate the implementation of our plans. To complicate, and somehow make more difficult, what we have undertaken in all seriousness. It is a singular form of interference in our internal affairs.

[Kobysh] I would like to say a couple of words in this regard. Generally, if we talk about the United States, a power cult exists in that country, as you know. Power is respected and held in regard there. This is a reply to your question, so to speak.

[Zorin] Another thought: Generally, throughout the first half of the 1980's efforts were made to exhaust the Soviet Union economically by spiralling the arms race. The fact that the 27th congress proposed such far-reaching and gradiose programs based on practical and real possibilities, naturally, was like a cold shower for those who nurtured plans to ruin and undermine the Soviet economy with the help of an exhausting arms race.

Georgiy Arkadyevich, when you began your response to my question you mentioned two points, yet you spoke of only one. I would like you to return to point two.

[Arbatov] Yes, I think the second point is that a very big impression was made on the world by the Soviet perception of it, a picture and idea of the world outlined by the congress, particularly in the Political Report, as multifaceted and diverse, full of contradictions yet interdependent and integral. This is a picture of and for mankind.

This is not a sectarian or narrow view of things. In fact, at a time when mankind has met for the first time in its history with such an absolutely universal and general threat to its very existence, this was expected and it was most desirable, to rise even above what I would call a narrow class perception of the world. This is completely a class approach to the world and an entirely Leninist attitude. Lenin emphasized that the Marxist idea lies in the fact that the interests of social development are even higher than the interests of the proletariat. This is natural because the proletariat is the highest thing created by human civilization throughout its history, on the social level, and its preservation is an immutable condition for all future progress and development of socialist socity, and human society in general.

This is particularly evident against the backdrop of the U.S. attitude. We are witnessing a corruption of U.S. policy to the most primitive black and white perceptions of the world, a world in which everything is laid out as either good or evil. The good, of course, are the Americans and those who support them unconditionally, while we and everyone else, of course, are the evil.

This wretched approach is so incompatible with the real gravity of the problems with which mankind must cope. I have in mind the problems of war, peace, and the desperate situation in which the overwhelming majority of mankind finds itself in -- there are more than 2 billion people living in the developing countries whose alienation from the developed countries is constantly increasing -- the growing ecological problem, and many, many others. Against this backdrop there are also the crusades and sallies launched against Grenada, Nicaragua, or Libya with their demagoguery and attempts to villify and lump together all of those that government detests, this of course makes a very sorry impression, although we should not forget that this is dangerous.

[Zorin] An important part in the work of the 27th congress was occupied by the question of political and economic cooperation of the socialist community countries. Let us briefly return to and look at the impetus the congress gave to this cooperation. Will you say something about this, Vitality Ivanovich?

[Kobysh] Let us begin with the fact that this cooperation became muce more active even before the congress. In December last year, the CEMA member-countries adopted the complex program of scientific and technical progress until the end of the century which encompases five priority directions. I will not list them now but will note that the strategy of acceleration is embodied in them.

The 27th CPSU Congress gave this strategy a powerful impetus. Generally, the decisions of the congress were in complete harmony with the processes presently occurring in the socialist states. These processes are extremely interesting. Consider the Cuban phenomenon, which was clearly revealed at the recent party congress in Havana.

A historically backward country, a country with a single-crop system, as you know, has now become before our very eyes an agrarian-industrial state. The task has been set to transform Cuba in the near future into an industrial-agrarian country. Just think about it. Remember what Cuba was like just a short time ago -- 30 years ago, -- before the revolution.

I could cite many examples. Presently, complete harmony with our congress can be seen at the 17th CPCZ Congress being held in Czechoslovakia.

What is important is that in absorbing our experience, the experience of the world's first socialist country -- an experience that is unique in many ways, though many aspects are universal -- every member-state of the socialist community draws support from its own experience which in turn, is valuable to us and to others. They proceed from their own history and distinctive features. Therefore, there is no one laboratory of socialism. It is unique in each country, but together we are engaged in a common task.

Other socialist countries that are not members of the socialist community followed the work of the 27th CPSU Congress with the greatest attention. Our cooperation with these states is also becoming increasingly diverse and close. Of course, particular interests, and in some quarters an unhealthy and alarmed interest, is evoked by expansion of Soviet cooperation with the PRC.

[Zorin] Georgiy Arkadyevich, returning to an analysis of the results of the congress, I would like to ask you: What is the main thing the congress yielded in the foreign policy sphere?

[Arbatov] In our immediate foreign policy?

[Zorin] Yes.

[Arbatov] This of course is our concept of a universal system of international security proposed in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's Political Report. This concept is not simply an idea, it is a political platform which must operate for years and generally it is difficult to imagine an alternative for it.

[Kobysh] It is a formula for mankind's survival.

[Arbatov] Of survival, and generally it is an essential condition for mankind's existence and progress. The strength of the idea lies in the fact that it reflects certain urgent requirements of society. Here for the first time it was revealed in the form of an integral concept or political platform. It is not an ultimatum, we are prepared to discuss any other proposals. Such is the style of our policy. But this is an agenda for worldwide discussion which is urgently needed today.

[Zorin] Continuing that you have outlined in a conceptual and general way I would like to ask a question from many of our television viewers' letters to "Studio 9" recently. The question, in brief, is as follows: What is happening with the post-Geneva process?

[Arbatov] Well, I would say that everything that was achieved in Geneva is being dismantled fairly rapidly by the Americans. In the west, I would say, no one is prepared to blame us for this.

[Zorin] Now you have told us what is happening. The next question is, naturally, why is this happening?

[Arbatov] Various suggestions are being made. One of them is that the U.S. President, while signing the statement in Geneva, did not plan to fulfill it, that this was a politically insincere act and a calculated maneuver of some sort.

Another suggestion is that during the 5 months since Geneva some changes have occurred among the President's entourage and in U.S. ruling circles. The correlation of forces has changed and the extreme right wing has gained the upper hand. Mentioned in connection with this are the resignation of McFarlane and the increased role of Patrick Buchanan, the President's main speechwriter, a truly strange person who has publicly bragged that one of his favorite historical heroes is Senator McCarthy and another is Generalissimo Francisco Franco, the bloody butcher of Spain.

I would not exclude one or the other of these versions although I would not put my name to them. Other factors may also be operating, but I fully concede that the matter may be more simple, that President Reagan really did want to do something positive. After all, it is most pleasant to be a peacemaker. This is liked, it is popular, and he may have sincerely gone to Geneva for this and spoken about it proudly on his return from Geneva. Perhaps at the time he simply did not imagine that in order to become a peacemaker many changes and corrections to U.S. policy needed to be made.

Now when he saw that this was necessary -- not only he, I have the entire administration in mind -- when they saw that these corrections were necessary and, moreover, when they saw that the entire situation and course of developments after Geneva demand these changes with increasing persistence, then they were taken aback or gave certain people and circles a chance to jump back a long way in the opposite direction.

I think this demonstrated another thing, a most revealing one, it seems to me. It showed that the entire situation in which the administration found itself was uncomfortable, somehow awkward, and it felt devoid of tension, without an arms race, without that constant chain of political adventures -- it felt like a fish out of water. And because of this there was a rapid reaction in the opposite direction. If we consider the situation today we cannot of course over-dramatize things. It is all occurring in real life. But if we consider the past couple of weeks, they have been worse than the weeks before Geneva.

[Zorin] In this connection, Georgiy Arkadyevich, question naturally arises: Is it time for us to reassess Geneva?

[Arbatov] I do not think so. When we first assessed the results of the Geneva summit, we constantly said that the scope of the success and the actual success or failure will be determinedby the development of events afterward, by the actual implementation of the ideas on which an agreement seemed to have been reached and which had been mentioned in the statement during the summit meeting. Of course, we hoped and thought things would proceed precisely that way, that the understandings would be converted into obligating agreements and would be implemented. We were also ready for a different course and we then said that there is another course.

Second, I would like to say that if what we actually see today is the last word of the current U.S. Administration, though we would not like it to be true, the Geneva meeting has been very useful just the same. It was a useful event. The administration has long said very different things, and it appeared that different people had spoken, although it was the same man or the very same people who spoke. But they said totally different things which inevitably had to be checked out. And actually there is no other way to check the possibility of coming to an agreement on anything with this administration, than to begin negotiations and enter into serious and summit talks with it. We could not pass up that opportunity. We could not miss it because of purely domestic positions and especially for our people. For them the issue of war and peace is always the object of special sensitivity; priorities play a special role and they expect no opportunity to be ignored or missed.

In addition, it was also very important for the entire world. You can see it is possible to verbally expose as much as you wish. The Americans can teach for they are experienced master polemists.

It has to be said that the administration knows how to manage propaganda, the art of using words, and it is fully conversant with verbal propaganda. But when people show their deeds, when it is no longer possible to avoid a direct answer on a very specific political issue, the situation changes, when it says yes or no about its attitude toward nuclear weapons...

[Zorin interrupting] ...and the moratorium...

[Arbatov] ...and the moratorium of course, nuclear weapons, and horrors about which the President was willing to speak: His desire to make nuclear weapons obsolete, to deliver humanity from them, and the moratorium on nuclear tests...

[Zorin interrupting] And this is what, despite the general attitude in the world, they have resumed testing...

[Arbatov] And this is actually a test by actions. Test of the nuclear issue about nuclear weapon testing has become a test by deed, a test of the administration's intentions. The same applies to intermediate-range weapons and a lot of other issues. You see, on the whole I would say that a result of Geneva, one of the consequences, was the very recent political leaf shedding, so to speak, when there was a massive fall of fig-leaves which uncovered the shame of a large number of political leaders.

[Zorin] Well, that is a very graphic description, Georgiy Arkadyevich, but it seems to provide a considerable definite use for propaganda. Is that sufficient?

[Arbatov] You see, naturally it would have been far better if we were close to or could sign an agreement, say to reduce by 50 percent the nuclear armaments and intermediate-range weapons in Europe, to completely ban nuclear testing, and so forth, but you see we had that in mind. We proposed that, we did not engage in propaganda. And now see what followed Geneva. It was not a wave of propaganda. Deeds followed. First of all, the 15 January statement of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. That was an idea which struck the imagination of everyone in the world. You see, that is a concrete plan for finally eliminating nuclear arms, solving a lot of problems involving the world of militarization, a militarization which is becoming both dangerous and beyond the power of humanity.

Yet at the same time it must be understood that the declaration of true intentions is not just propaganda, it is a very important policy, it is diplomacy, that very open diplomacy which Vladimir Ilich Lenin actually mentioned on the day after the October Revolution when the decree on peace was adopted. By the way, Comrade Gorbachev dealt with it in much detail during his interview with the French Communist newspaper L'HUMANITE. You see, the heart of the matter is that there are types of policies, or using Lenin's expression -- there are abominations and villainies which cannot tolerate publicity, cannot tolerate truth like mold cannot stand sunlight. And in this aspect, military allocations reflecting the full meaning of huge military spendings, plans for bloody adventures, can be achieved in the present world only when supported by a thick wave of deceit, of universal duping. In this way a very great contribution is made by this always present element of that very important policy. You understand, it is not just talk but decisions that will either push in certain directions or force the truth to be exposed.

At the same time, this open diplomacy is also important in another aspect. It presupposes a very clear, convincing, realistic position by the one who simply conducts it, and in this aspect, the Geneva and the post-Geneva process have helped us greatly. Comrade Gorbachev has spoken about this. He allowed us to come more boldly and more determinedly to the preparation of new proposals and new initiatives. In a word, it can be said it has given powerful impetus to the complicated and very important process. And this process will continue. You know, whichever way the situation goes, however much it tends to the pre-Geneva situation, there is no return.

New ideas, new proposals, new concepts about the arms race, and methods for fighting the arms race, a new kind of rearrangement of forces in public movements are beginning to take root. And all that means a struggle, and all that is complicated, yet it is alive and active, so I think that, on the whole, events are developing in a complicated manner. Yet, we have no justification for reassessing what was really a very major and serious political event.

[Zorin] Yes, the political process is moving, Georgiy Arkadyevich, but excuse my insistence. I would like to ask you the following question: Will it be possible to achieve anything substantial if the other side does not move from its position, and keeps to its previous position?

[Arbatov] You know of course that, in order to achieve an agreement, you have to negotiate with somebody, and there must be the willingness of the other side for this. I would say that the administration has many times changed its position, unfortunately more often for the worse than for the better, but there have been instances to the contrary. I think the main point lies somewhere else. At any rate, the political behavior of any government is determined by some kind of objective factor, which generally operates in the direction of a logical approach to the realities of the world. And then, of course, we should not forget and I have already mentioned it in this studio, that the history of Soviet-U.S. relations did not begin with the Reagan administration, and that it will not end with it. Actually the administration has less than 3 years left. That is not a short period. But the signs of apparent damage coming at full speed I think are manifest in the political situation which we now observe.

The hysterical splash of the last few weeks in U.S. policy is explained by some observers as the beginning of the 1988 presidential electoral campaign, its first battles, battles connected in particular with the extreme right-wing circles fearing to lose their position after Reagan, wanting to preserve and strengthen these positions. And for this purpose, they naturally need anti-communist hysteria and a military-psychotic atmosphere. Of course, there is the question of whether they will succeed or not and, frankly speaking, after spending 18 years at the institute which studies the United States, I have become very cautious about making any kind of forecast. In the United States, anything is generally possible, yet at the same time I find it very difficult to see how the United States will be able for several more years to stand military spending similar to that in the last 5 years, and the budget deficit and state debt associated with them; how it will be able to preserve intact the huge bag of falsifications and eyewash concerning military programs and many other political falsehoods, open lies which have actually become one of the cornerstones of the entire foundation of current U.S. policy; and how it will be able to keep the United States for several more years in a state of almost general conformism, silent in the face of this kind of high-handed pressure.

[Zorin] I do not think that the right-wingers will have it easy.

[Kobysh] I think there is another significant and interesting aspect. The political leaf-shedding Georgiy Arkadyevich spoke about has led to the emergence in the United States within the top leadership, and even within the administration, of a certain discord, and we even suspect there is a fight going on about very substantial problems -- first of all, those connected with the approach to the problem of arms control. This is, of course, primarily what was stated by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on 15 January in our proposals. All this had placed the U.S. ruling circles, the administration, in a very difficult position, and they are now, in the full meaning of the word, fighting back in the political, propaganda, and diplomatic fields, while being practically in a political blockade in the world, and all that is the result of Geneva and the actions following Geneva.

[Zorin] Georgiy Arkadyevich, I would like to return directly to the discussion of Geneva and ask you a question which cannot fail to arise. In Geneva, an agreement on the next summit was agreed upon...

[Arbatov interrupting] On the next two meetings...

[Zorin] Yes, but particularly about the meeting this year. What is the prospect of this agreement in the light of the current situation: in light of what we have discussed?

[Arbatov] The question is important of course. It is a question which, frankly speaking, I cannot answer. The answer has to be given officially, at the appropriate level and in the appropriate manner. I can only make some observations in connection with this. My observation lies in that the main point agreed on at Geneva, it seems to me, was the intention and I quote the statement signed by Comrade Gorbachev and President Reagan: To improve Soviet-U.S. relations and improve the international situation in general. And it is for this purpose that the talks must be held. For this purpose summit meetings were planned and the main motive for making decisions, I think, will be whether the new summit meeting planned for this year, and planned last year during the Geneva meeting, will serve these purposes.

[Zorin] Thank you. At the congress, the deep historic changes taking place in developing countries was reported on. The kind of answer the imperialists are trying to give to this question has been shown once more and in a very substantive way by the events of the last few days. I would like to ask you, Vitaliy Ivanovich, to speak on this subject.

[Kobysh] I think you have in mind the events that developed off the Libyan coast. Well, they are shameful actions by the Washington administration and probably will not be forgotten for a long time. It sent several dozen warships, including 3 aircraft carriers with 240 combat aircraft on board, to the shores of this far-from-large military power and achieved what it wanted, it used arms against Libya. The talk is not concerning some sort of incident. This was a punitive operation, planned and prepared in advance. Of interest is the admission made recently by the U.S. State Department spokesman. While explaining this act of U.S. aggression against Libya, he said: The current training exercise in the Mediterranean is part of our program for implementing the rights of free navigation. And then: Similar training has been conducted recently near the Crimean shores. That is the point. From the southern coast of Crimea to the Libyan shores, there are armed provocations everywhere, a military muscle game. They can hardly expect to frighten us. Their purpose with us is different. They want to bring new, independent, developing states from Libya to Nicaragua to their knees; halt their development. The matter went as far as the U.S. President stating at first that the U.S. founding fathers were also contras. The CIA is now arming the former surviving Somozists, oppressors, and cutthroats with funds obtained from the U.S. taxpayers, and then he went as far as to say: And I count myself as a contra.

[Arbatov] Well that may not be too far from the truth.

[Kobysh] Maybe he probably...

[Arabatov interrupting] It seems to me, Vitaliy Ivanovich, there is another design in all that is happening. It is related to the domestic situation in the United States, with the budget struggle that is developing there, and on a whole range of other important decisions. It seems to me that the administration needs the shooting to start. In particular, I think about them coming close to the Crimea, somebody may have had the intention, I shall not say that it was the President, but whoever made the decision, not just for an intelligence operation, but for a confrontation, some kind of conflict. And, if a couple of shots had been fired there, that is what is now needed to really make the atmosphere very tense.

[Kobysh] In order to push...

[Arbatov] In order to push everything through, for everybody's heart to sink, and for all to actually feel that a war is on, that there is almost a war, and that under such conditions there is no room for any kind of objection, under a state of emergency. And this state of emergency is needed for all the administration's policies now being conducted.

[Kobysh] I would like to return to what we began with, the developing countries starting from the premise that the United States does not represent the entire world, though the current U.S. Administration is giving the world many troubles, often unjustified, senseless, and unnecessary. The developing countries have many burdens. Of course, current U.S. policy, the games of the administration leaders, has its significance here, yet the general U.S. course with respect to liberated states -- developing countries which represent almost half of the world's population -- is a powerful course intended to keep them submissive and put some on their knees and this is what has become very clear in U.S. actions with respect to Libya. Generally, it is an attempt to stop the progress of history. I think that this is the purpose of the regional conflicts being fanned by the United States.

[Arbatov] The United States wants to save the world at any cost, but it turns out that the world must be saved from the rich United States.

[Kobysh] But it is saving the world in a strange kind of way, a very singular selection is occurring. For some reason it was not saving the world when Somoza was committing outrages in Nicaragua. He was not blockaded and U.S. instructors were not sent against him. For some reason, guarded criticism is now being levelled against the Pinochet regime apparently for fear that he will go under and they are somehow trying to anticipate this event. But it is not sending U.S. Navy ships to the coasts of Chile.

[Arbatov] It is interesting. What if Soviet Navy ships held maneuvers near Chile or South Africa...

[Kobysh interrupting] Yes, one can imagine it...

[Arbatov] ...what kind of reaction there would be by the Americans.

[Kobysh] One can imagine what would happen.

[Zorin] This dual political bookkeeping is Washington's political style.

[Kobysh] Yes, but generally, this is imperialism, this is an imperialist policy, and it is under this imperialist banner that Washington has begun its campaign, or little campaigns [pokhodiki] as we have said, against the developing states that have recently achieved their freedom.

This campaign is naturally doomed to failure. We have repeatedly noted in this studio that history cannot be stopped, but the threat it holds to the cause of peace -- I have in mind that irresponsible policy that often places mankind on the brink of extremely dangerous events -- this threat greatly troubles the cause of peace and the security of peoples and all mankind.

[Zorin] Throughout the world attention was directed to the fact that at the 27th congress of our party, besides speaking about the difficulties of the world today, and the complex problems of our world, a great profound historic optimism was demonstrated. This is a characteristic feature of the 27th party congress. Georgiy Arkadyevich, in your opinion, what is this optimism based on?

[Arbatov] First of all, I think on a confidence in one's own abilities and in the prospects for our society. You understand this is a very realistic confidence that is based on an understanding of problems and difficulties and at the same time on a very clear perception of the enormous reserves that we have and the great, limitless opportunities revealed to our society if we very consistently and persistently follow this path.

On the other hand if we speak of foreign policy I think that we have every reason to look to the future with confidence because our policy, our political platform, expresses the fundamental and basic requirements of international development, not only ours but those of all other countries, the whole world, including us of course. And we want to play an active and positive role in these processes today.

After all, the class struggle in the world arena is developing in extremely singular ways, and one of these for example is a which society... it is competition, peaceful competition, competition to see which system will permit the construction of a society which satisfies to the fullest extent the requirement of people and the demands of progress.

There is a second aspect: what system, what society -- socialism or capitalism -- will propose a realistic plan to the world, a realistic answer to the questions facing the world. A very important line of struggle runs through this today, not a simple struggle between one country and another or even between systems. It is also a struggle between old and alienated-from-life notions of how the problems facing mankind should be solved and this new thinking that has been elevated to a realization of the new realities in the world and proposes new and realistic [solutions] truly capable of bringing both survival and an opportunity for human society to develop successfully.

Without concealing from us the fact that everything will come in a very sharp and very complicated struggle, it seems to me that all this nevertheless makes us optimists.

[Zorin] Thank you. Our time has run out. It remains for me to thank you for taking part in our discussion today and to thank our television viewers. And so, until our next meeting here in our Studio 9; thank you.

## FOREIGN MINISTRY VIEWS VIENNA TALKS, LIBYAN ISSUE

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[TASS report: "Press Center Briefing"]

[Text] A briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists on current international questions was held at the Press Center of the USSR Foreign Ministry in Moscow on 25 March.

Speaking at the briefing, V.V. Mikhaylov, head of the Soviet delegation at the Vienna talks on the limitation and reduction of armaments and armed forces in central Europe, reported on the results of the latest round of talks. He noted that the United States and its NATO allies are continuing to erect barriers in the path of a real reduction in the level of military confrontation in central Curope and arbitrarily manipulate monitoring [kontrol] and verification [proverka] measures. The Western side has reduced to a minimum the number of troops subject to reduction. The West categorically refuses to reduce arms to the same extent [naravne] as armed forces.

Dwelling on the provocative U.S. actions against Libya, V.B. Lomeyko, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Department, noted that Soviet people express solidarity with Libya and resolutely condemn the aggressive actions by the U.S. military which pose a threat not only to the situation in the Mediterranean but also to universal peace and international security. They demand that these actions be immediately terminated.

## COMMENTATORS CONSIDER BUSH, WEINBERGER TOURS

### Shalnev on Purpose of Bush Trip

LD021056 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0724 GMT 2 Apr 86

[Text] Washington, 2 Apr (TASS) -- TASS correspondent A. Shalnev reports: U.S. Vice President George Bush is setting out on 3 April on a 10-day trip to the countries of the Near East and the Persian Gulf. He will visit Saudi Arabia, Oman, Bahrain, and North Yemen. As Bush himself has stated, in the course of the trip -- which is to be carried out on the personal instruction of President Reagan -- he will discuss with the leaders of those countries "a wide circle of questions relating to the sphere of security."

Informed observers are regarding the vice president's trip in the context of the efforts being undertaken by the Washington administration within the framework of the notorious doctrine of neoglobalism. For example, it emerges from the utterances of a highly placed State Department representative that the Bush mission will, to a significant degree, be subordinate to the aim of preserving U.S. access to military installations in certain countries of the region. As is known, Washington has succeeded in obtaining for itself the "right" to use such installations in Oman and Bahrain which, in the Pentagon's calculations, would become base points for the "Rapid Deployment Force," which has been specially created in the United States for the implementation of its gendarme operations in the Persian Gulf region.

The task of preserving these "rights" is in the meantime turning out to be increasingly complex. As the vice president himself admitted at a news conference in Washington, the countries in the region "did not take a very benevolent attitude" to the recent armed action by the United States against sovereign Libya. In the estimation of observers, there is an increasing fear in those countries that the military installations might be used by Washington against the Arab states themselves under the fabricated pretext of "fighting international terrorism."

Speaking about the aims of the trip, the vice president reported that he intends to discuss the situation around Afghanistan. At the same time the State Department representative admitted that Bush will not be presenting any fresh proposals or ideas of the administration in this sphere. In other words, discussion of the "Afghan question" will virtually be reduced merely to attempts by the Washington emissary to urge certain Arab countries to provide even more active support for the bandits who are carrying out raids on the territory of the DRA from Pakistan.

Further evidence of the direction of Bush's trip might also be the fact that, in the words of the vice president, he will not be taking with him "anything that is specifically new" also concerning a settlement of the situation in the Near East. It emerges from this that Bush, who on the eve of the visit met S. Peres, the Israeli prime minister, in Washington, will once again attempt to win the Arab countries over to support the old and bankrupt policy of separate deals.

### Pravdin on Weinberger's Seoul Talks

LD022200 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1645 GMT 2 Apr 86

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Sergey Pravdin]

[Text] Peres, the prime minister of Israel, who is in the United States on a visit, is today continuing talks with Vice President Bush and Secretary of State Shultz.

Technically, Peres has come to the United States in connection with the 50th anniversary of the Zionist organization of the World Jewish Congress but in fact he is discussing questions of strengthening military and political cooperation between the two countries with leading U.S. figures. The talk is first and foremost about increasing U.S. military and economic assistance to Israel and also joint actions against independent Arab countries, especially against Libya. Peres' visit ends on 3 April, and on that same day Bush, the American vice president, is himself flying to the Near East. As the REUTER agency reports he will visit three countries in the Persian Gulf: Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Oman and also the Yemen Arab Republic. It has been officially announced that the aim of the visit is the U.S. intention to demonstrate its friendly attitudes to the aforementioned countries. The agency notes that in actual fact Washington is striving to once more confirm the presence of its special interests in that strategically important and oil-rich region. It is also reported that Bush will visit the Enterprise aircraft carrier, which is now in the Indian Ocean with a group of other American warships. Incidentally, Bush is not the only high-ranking Washington representative to be carrying out a voyage abroad at the present time.

On 2 and 3 April Weinberger, head of the U.S. Defense Department, will be holding talks in Seoul with leaders of the military junta. According to the UPI, the main question likely to be discussed will be American-South Korean military-strategic cooperation and also the creation of a new military bloc in Asia, or, the so-called Washington-Tokyo-Seoul triple alliance. Certain questions on the internal situation in South Korea will also be considered, in particular the firmness of the position of the Seoul dictator himself, Chon Tu-hwan. It is known that the popular movement for democratic transformations and for holding early direct presidential elections has recently intensified significantly in the country despite brutal repression. Despite a ban by the authorities, signatures are being collected throughout the whole of South Korea for a petition demanding democratic reforms. Opposition forces plan to collect 10 million signatures on it. A 100,000-strong demonstration by opponents of the Chon Tu-hwan regime took place in the South Korean city of Kwangju. Many comrades probably saw photos of this demonstration on the Vremya program. The Seoul authorities deal harshly with their political opponents but the Seoul dictator's throne is rocking more and more strongly, and in Washington they are asking themselves the question whether it might not be time to get rid of the odious figure of General Chon, as was done quite recently with Duvalier in Haiti or Marcos in the Philippines.

## REACTION CONTINUES TO EVENTS IN GULF OF SIDRA

### U.S. Planned To Invade Libya

LD031004 Moscow TASS in English 0912 GMT 3 Apr 86

[Text] Washington April 3 TASS -- TASS correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko reports:

The recent attack of the U.S. Navy on Libya was only an element of Washington's plan to mount a major act of aggression against that country. This conclusion is prompted by a WASHINGTON POST report on April 2. Quoting well-informed sources in the USA and the Egyptian newspaper AL-AHRAM, THE WASHINGTON POST says that one option envisioned a massive strike at Libyan territory by the U.S. Air Force. The drafting of such plans was supervised by the presidential national security adviser, John Poindexter, and the Pentagon top brass. Washington tried to provoke an armed conflict between Libya and Egypt on three occasions to have a pretext to send in U.S. troops "to help out the Egyptians." The Government of Egypt, however, refused to participate in such a dangerous act of provocation.

The word "Grenada" figured prominently in discussions on plans to attack Libya, the newspaper says, which means that an action similar to the invasion of that island was planned against Libya as well. However, THE WASHINGTON POST stressed, the U.S. Defense Department came to the conclusion that Libya was not a small defenseless country like Grenada.

## Vinogradov Views Clash

PM021355 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Mar 86 Second Edition p 5

[Article by observer V. Vinogradov under the Rubric "Seats of Danger of War": "Having Taken the Bit Between Their Teeth"]

[Text] U.S. television, without evident rapture, has shown -- repeatedly -- the same footage: clouds of smoke at debris flying into the air above the outskirts of the Libyan city of Surt. This bloody orgy took place during what the White House had declared were "peaceful" exercises that the U.S. Navy has just completed in the Gulf of Sidra off Libyan shores.

I recall that during these "peaceful" exercises carrier-based aircraft carried out headlong incursions from U.S. aircraft carriers into Libyan airspace above the Gulf of Sidra.

Tripoli is well aware of what these incursions bring: Back in August 1981, when the Pentagon was carrying out similar exercises, two Libyan fighters were shot down. That is why Libya's air defense weapons opened fire on the violators. This was followed by what was shown by U.S. television. The latter-day pirates under the Stars and Stripes delivered a missile and bomb strike against Surt and sunk several Libyan cutters.

Television is only television, but Washington itself has attempted to present this aggressive action as some kind of "incident that arose suddenly." Lies! The facts attest irrefutably to the opposite. It is a case of a preconceived and preplanned "punitive" operation.

Libya did not become a target for Washington just today. For a number of years that sovereign state has been subjected to various forms of pressure from the United States for its firm anti-imperialists stance. Here the provocative, threatening maneuvers by U.S. Navy groupings off the Libyan coast have become almost constant. But that did not seem enough for U.S. ruling circles. In July 1985, THE WASHINGTON POST reports, a special conference was held in the White House in the presence of the President. It decided to "toughen" its policy with respect to Libya. This, the newspaper points out, was followed by "numerous discussions, studies, interdepartmental conferences, and the assessment and even preliminary selection of targets on Libyan territory." Moreover, according to THE WASHINGTON POST there was a thorough study of the question of "delivering preemptive strikes against Libya."

The order to carry out the new series of provocative exercises off Libyan shores with the participation of aircraft carrier formations was given in January this year. Washington had a good idea where this was supposed to lead. As THE NEW YORK TIMES points out in this connection, citing official administration spokesmen, "Reagan decided to send aircraft carriers to the Gulf of Sidra after he had been told that this would inevitably lead to military confrontation with Libya." In other words, the United States deliberately decided to provoke Tripoli into a clash.

Thus three aircraft carriers -- the Coral Sea, the Saratoga, and the America -- and over 30 escort ships including the modern cruisers Yorktown and Ticonderoga immediately appeared off Libyan shores. It was this armada with 240 carrier-based aircraft which took part in the recent "peaceful" exercises. The Pentagon incidentally, had already declared that even after they had ended not a single U.S. ship would leave the south Mediterranean region.

The United States' rash actions off Libyan shores could not fail to cause the gravest alarm among the world public. The Arab League, the OAU, and many international organizations have denounced the U.S. fleet's piracy. Here special emphasis was placed on the fact that the U.S. armed provocation in the Gulf of Sidra is the result of the U.S. strategy of regional destabilization.

Within the framework of this strategy the White House, ignoring the Latin American countries' desire to achieve a peaceful settlement in Central America, is building up support to the anti-Nicaraguan forces and seeking from Congress an even bigger increase in military aid to the "contras." And "credit" also goes to the United States for the fact that the situation surrounding Afghanistan is in no way being stabilized. Earmarking funds amounting to many millions, the United States is trying to effect a further escalation of the undeclared war against the Afghan people that it is waging at the hands of inveterate bandits and mercenaries.

The expansion of the conflict in southern Africa, where people's Angola has been obliged to repel the joint efforts of the Republic of South Africa's racist regime and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola is also entirely on the U.S. conscience. By its support Washington is unleashing the former and the latter on Angola. And what would have happened to the Pol Pot holdouts had it not been for Washington's all-around patronage?

Yes, the list of regional conflicts is still great, unfortunately. Pointing to the importance of this question, at the dinner in the Great Kremlin Palace in honor of C. Bendjedid, president of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria and general secretary of the National Liberation Front Party, M.S. Gorbachev, general secrectary of the CPSU Central Committee, said: "As well as serving as the catalyst for local and international tension, regional problems have significance in themselves of vital importance for all world development. For all the diversity of the specific conditions at the basis of each of them there ultimately lies the question of the peoples' right to determine their own fate. And these problems should be resolved without imperialist interference, in an atmosphere of respect for the peoples' independence and the legitimacy of their desires."

It is absolutely clear that the United States' actions against the Libyan Jamahiriyah are a challenge to the entire world public and flout universally recognized civilized relations. This policy not only provokes but also creates regional conflicts and jeopardizes international peace and security. It is directed against all independent peoples and is meeting with a mounting rebuff from them.

As for the Soviet Union's position with regard to the unrestrained U.S. pressure on Libya, the USSR resolutely denounces the U.S. aggressive anti-Libyan actions. The Soviet Union is in solidarity with the Libyan people defending their sacred right to freedom and independence against imperialist encroachments. This principled position is meeting with the full support of the other socialist countries and entire peace-loving public.

## Bovin Scores U.S. Actions

PM031053 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Apr 86 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by IZVESTIYA political observer A. Bovin: "Irresponsibility"]

[Text] It is difficult to accuse the present American Administration of an excess of friendly sentiments and actions in relation to the Soviet Union. Nevertheless Washington's markedly unfriendly, hostile, and provocative actions that we have recently encountered manifestly break the average statistical norms even for American arrogance.

I have in mind Washington's demand that the number of employees working as USSR, Ukrainian, and Belorussian representatives to the United Nations be reduced by 105 persons. I have in mind the passing of U.S. warships through USSR territorial waters off the southern Crimean coast. I have in mind the blatant detonation of a nuclear device carried out a few days before 31 March -- the declared expiration date of the unilateral Soviet moratorium.

Speaking on television on Saturday, Comrade Gorbachev qualified the White House's actions as devoid of both a sense of reality and a sense of responsibility. Nevertheless, showing both restraint and patience, the Soviet Union gave the United States one more chance to take a responsible decision and join the moratorium. The Americans did not ponder very long. They rejected our proposal.

A noteworthy coincidence. The day before, on Friday, the White House once again urged Congress to remove the ban on testing ASAT systems (antisatellite weapons). The same old faulty logic -- the more weapons, the better and greater the security.

No, Washington does not wish to learn, does not wish to reckon with the demands and limitations of our time. Hence the reliance on force, unscrupulousness, and the promotion of unrealistic, unrealizable aims. The Americans adore adopting such majestic, statuesque poses and solemnly pontificating virtually in the name of the Good Lord himself. But these pompous poses and speeches strangely contract with the nerviness, provincial bravado, with the constant fear of showing weakness and being surrounded by "Reds" -- the Cubans will attack Florida, the Nicaraguans will occupy Texas, and the Libyans will seize California. It's a good thing that at least Grenada has been calmed down, otherwise the state of Iowa would be in tears....

The constant hysteria surrounding Nicaragua, the use of 100 percent McCarthyite methods, and the crude abuse addressed to the Sandinists -- this is not so much politics as medicine. After its defeat in the House of Representatives, the administration is rejoicing over its victory in the Senate: 53 senators to 47 voted in favor of allocating money to assist the "contras." In a special procedure the U.S. President is financing the airlifting of Honduras troops to Nicaraguan borders using American helicopters with American pilots.

It would be interesting to find out how many hundreds of millions, how many billions of dollars the United States spent in order to save its South Vietnamese puppets. And so what? It's as I say. I repeat, they do not wish to learn.

They do not wish to learn and they sent three aircraft carrier formations to Libyan shores. Why? To defend navigation freedom in the Gulf of Sidra, they say.

But first, Washington cannot help but know that in international naval law there exists the concept of the "historical gulf." (paragraph 6, page 7 of the Convention of the Territorial Sea and Continuous Zone signed in Geneva on 29 April 1958) A gulf which, by virtue of historical tradition, special geographical conditions, defense significance, and so forth, is regarded by a coastal state as its own inland sea waters is termed an "historical gulf." Examples of this are: Zalif Petra Velikogo (USSR), the Bristol Channel (Great Britain), Hudson Bay (Canada), Chesapeake Bay (United States), and the Golfo di Taranto (Italy).

Other states may or may not recognize the "historical" status of the gulf in question. But -- and this is the second point -- the UN Charter and present-day international law require disputes that may arise to be resolved exclusively by peaceful means. By shelling Libyan territory, carrying out rocket attacks on Libyan patrol boats, and killing Libyans, the Americans have tried to prove (and have proven) their devotion not to freedom of navigation, but to freedom of brigandage, violence, and irresponsible use of force.

Sending a special message to members of the 6th Fleet, the U.S. President said: "You have demonstrated to the whole world that the United States has will have that it can protect the interests of the free world. Thanks to the determination you showed and your tireless opposition to the threat posed by Libya, our world has become safer... On behalf of all Americans I say: Thank you for all that you have done, we are proud of you. We wish you success and good luck!" In my opinion, any comment is superfluous here. One observation, however. Black may be called white. People may be urged to be proud of something that should give rise to bitterness and aversion. But in the ordinary world, not the world of distorted political and moral consciousness, black will nevertheless remain black.

America is conjecturing how it can explain the recent series of provocative decisions and actions by the White House. I will cite two of the most frequently encountered explanations.

First, Reagan believed it necessary to justify himself before his even more right-wing supporters for the fact that he behaved too soft in Geneva. And second, Reagan has altered the Soviet-American balance of forces in the favor of the United States, and, consequently, he can throw down a Somewhat bolder challenge to Moscow.

The first point. Let us consider this a private affair of the administration. But for ourselves we will draw a conclusion which, incidentally, we have already drawn more than once: Our American partners are too unreliable, because they make principled questions of big politics dependent on petty political intrigue. But we cannot get away from this. We have to do business with those with whom history and fate present us.

Point two. I am afraid that neither this U.S. President nor any other will succeed in breaking the existing balance of forces between the United States and the USSR. And the Americans are making a mistake when they identify our cicumspection and responsibility for indecisiveness.

From a technical viewpoint it would have cost nothing to send the American warships near Lastochkino Gnezdo to the bottom of the sea. But responsible political decisions are not only determined by technical potential. The Americans were allowed to go home. And for reasons unclear to me, the U.S. President did not congratulate them on their success. But he could have done. And, without fail, on behalf of "all Americans." I do not feel I have the right to speak on behalf of all "Russians." For myself I will say: We do not have an inferiority complex. We are sufficiently civilized to react to provocative intrigue adequately and without hysteria. We will not slam the door.

I quite allow that the political pressure applied by the U.S. President will give him certain tactical pluses and will increase sympathy for him on the part of conservative, chauvinistically minded strata of American society and among world reactionaries. But strategically the White House is clearly losing. Even the U.S. allies shrink in fear, finding out about the latest feats of Rambo who, of course, is fighting for freedom. "Let us immediately get rid of a basic ambiguity," the Italian newspaper PAESE SERA notes, "the American fleet is not waging battle for the sake of ideals of freeodm. Gunboats will never bring freedom." Exactly. By setting force in motion and talking about freedom the Americans can still intimidate some people and deceive some people. But the number of the intimidated and the deceived is becoming smaller and smaller. And consequently a strategy calculated to intimidate and deceive has no future.

Quite recently in THE WASHINGTON POST there appeared the following characterization of the U.S. President: "Demagogy and willingness to sweep aside the truth and achieve his aim by any means are characteristic of Ronald Reagan. He can treat facts offhandedly, cunningly twist words, and he is prepared to repeat a lie or a debatable fact until they begin to be accepted as the truth. He is a very adroit propagandist and a very bad president." I am grieved by this characterization. After all, the U.S. President is our main, basic partner as long as it is a question of preserving peace and preventing a universal thermonuclear catastrophe. We would like a little less demagogy, a little less propaganda, and a little more politics.

At present the following must be said. Of all the vast multitude of epithets used to describe White House foreign policy -- tough, arrogant, forceful, energetic, global, risky, defiant, and so on and so forth -- I have never encountered the word "responsible."

## OFFICERS REPORT ENCOUNTER WITH U.S. SHIPS OFF CRIMEA

PM021449 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Mar 86 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with Commander P. Zhuravlev, commander of the patrol ship Ladnyy, and Colonel V. Kuznetsov, commander of an air subunit, by Subcommander V. Pasyakin: "Off the Crimean Coast"]

[Text] As already reported in the press, on 13 March this year American warships flagrantly violated the USSR state border in the region to the south of the Crimean peninsula for the purpose of carrying out intelligence activity. Displaying high combat readiness, self-control, and sangfroid, the patrol ship Ladnyy, border vessels of the USSR KGB, and naval aircraft made them leave Soviet territorial waters.

Subcommander V. Pasyakin, our permanent correspondent in the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet, met with Commander P. Zhuravlev, commander of the patrol ship Ladnyy, and Colonel V. Kuznetsov, commander of an air subunit, and asked them to describe the actions in that complex situation.

Commander P. Zhuravlev: On 10 March our ship was performing a combat training mission at sea. In the afternoon, with the help of radio aids and, later, visually, we discovered that two American ships -- the guided missile cruiser Yorktown and the destroyer Caron -- had entered Black Sea waters through the Bosporus Strait. I at once reported this to the Black Sea Fleet Command and received orders to continue surveillance.

It must be said that American naval warships have repeatedly entered the Black Sea in the past in attempts to carry out reconnaissance. Therefore the crew was ready for any surprises.

The American ships crossed the Black Sea, emerged in the region to the soutwest of Novorossiysk, began maneuvering, and then headed for the Crimean peninsula. At 1111 on 13 March they entered our territorial waters. We warned the American commanders of this and demanded that they immediately leave USSR territorial waters. This reply came from the American ships: Warning received. But they were clearly in no hurry to react appropriately to our demand. On orders from our command we were ready for the immediate fulfillment of a combat mission for 2 hours and 21 minutes. This was a serious test of the crew sailors' self-control, coolness, and professional skill.

Probably the greatest load fell on the combat information center and the combat control unit under the command of Subcommander D. Pavlov.

The sailors of the electromechanical combat unit headed by Subcommander S. Kobelev also did excellent work. The American ships tried repeatedly to evade our relentless surveillance. But the mechanics made skillful use of the shipboard machines' potential.

In short, through the efforts of the entire crew we endeavored to make it clear to the commanders of the American ships that we were ready for the most decisive actions and that their continued presence in our waters could have grave consequences. At 1332 they left Soviet territorial waters.

Col V. Kuznetsov: Planned exercises were taking place in our air unit. Suddenly the alarm sounded. We had to fly to the region south of the Crimean peninsula and be ready to fulfill a combat mission. Crews took off under the command of Major V. Tsyganenko and Captain P. Zherebyatyev, military pilots first class. These experienced aviators have hundreds of combat training flights under the most diverse conditions to their credit.

Captain V. Ivanov, the navigator declared the subunit's best navigator on the eve of the 27th CPSU Congress, guided the aircraft to the prescribed region by the shortest route. The first to detect the American ships that had intruded into our territorial waters was the crew headed by Maj V. Tsyganenko.

Soon, evidently having evaluated the situation that was taking shape through their fault, the American ships' commanders realized the threat posed by their continued presence in Soviet territorial waters. They abruptly changed course and headed for the open sea.

I do not know what the American ships' commanders and their superiors were trying to achieve by that "operation," but I am sure that they achieved just one thing: They have once again demonstrated to the whole world the U.S. Navy's aggressive essence.

## REPORTAGE ON VISIT BY DPRK'S YANG HYONG-SOP

### Meeting With Gromyko

LD021626 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1631 GMT 2 Apr 86

[Text] Moscow, 2 Apr (TASS) -- Andrey Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received in the Kremlin today a delegation of the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly led by Yang Hyong-sop, chairman of the Assembly's Standing Committee.

In the course of the conversation the current international situation was reviewed. Aggressive actions of imperialism in recent weeks are making the situation increasingly complicated. Andrey Gromyko stressed that the USSR is continuing its peace-loving efforts.

The banning of nuclear weapons tests could be the first step along this path. The USSR is ready to start immediate talks on this question at any level. This was stated in the appeal from the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to the U.S. Congress.

The USSR considers the speedy cessation of nuclear weapons tests to be a question of primary importance. This thought permeated the 29 March television statement made by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He announced the USSR's decision to refrain from carrying out nuclear tests after the ending of the period of the unilateral moratorium -- 31 March this year -- if the United States also does not carry out such tests. The USSR is prepared to attend a Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Europe in the very near future in order to reach agreement on ceasing nuclear tests.

However, the USSR has not received a positive reply to its proposals even though the present day requires the most serious approach to policy, and understanding of the complexities of the present world, and a deep penetration into its problems. In general it requires a new way of thinking. This leads to the logical and convincing conclusion that mutual security can be ensured only by means of political decisions and not by saber-rattling or stocking nuclear warheads.

Soviet people, Andrey Gromyko stressed, invariably show solidarity with the just struggle of the Korean people for an improvement in the situation of the Korean peninsula and for creating favorable conditions for a peaceful democratic unification of the country. The desire of the CPSU and the USSR to strengthen fraternal friendship with the Korean Workers Party and the DPRK on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism remains constant. The celebration this year of the 25th anniversary of the USSR-DPRK Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid Treaty undoubtedly demonstrates the resolve of the two countries to intensify cooperation in the interests of socialism and peace in the Far East, in Asia, and throughout the world.

### Meeting With Tolkunov

LD022041 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1546 GMT 2 Apr 86

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A delegation of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, led by Yang Hyong-sop, chairman of the assembly's Standing Committee, had a conversation at the USSR Supreme Soviet today.

Comrade Tolkunov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, told of the tasks of the supreme body of state power of the Soviet Union in implementing the tasks for the social and economic development of the country set by the 27th CPSU Congress.

There was an exchange of information on the activity of the parliaments of the two countries, and matters of the further development of their ties were discussed. It was stressed that the danger of a nuclear catastrophe occurring requires that the efforts of all states, parliaments, and peoples be stepped up in the interests of the strengthening of peace on earth.

## EXCHANGE ACTIVITIES WITH JAPAN REPORTED

OW012337 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 31 Mar 86

[From the "Friendship and Good-Neighborliness" program]

[Excerpts] First, we will report on USSR-Japan exchange news:

The Japan-USSR Society, one of the Japan-USSR friendship organizations in Japan, concluded its 30th plenary session in Tokyo yesterday. The action program for this year adopted at the meeting includes various activities to promote the development of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet and Japanese people, as well as to activate struggles for peace and the abolition of nuclear weapons in Japan. The action program highly appraised Soviet initiatives for disarmament as being of epoch-making significance.

A delegation from Sarukutsu village in Hiroshima Prefecture, led by Mr Kasai of Sarukutsu village, is currently on the second day of its visit to Volgograd, Hiroshima's sister city. The delegation has been visiting the USSR since 25 March at the invitation of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and the USSR-Japan Society.

A delegation of Komeito's Organ Bureau led by Susumu Haji arrived in Tashkent, capital of Uzbekistan on 31 March.

## MOSCOW SEES U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN GULF ARMS RACE

NC021300 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1700 GMT 31 Mar 86

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] In his toast at a recent reception for Algerian President Chadli Benjedid, who is in the Soviet Union on a friendly visit, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev said that the arms race is an ever-growing obstacle to progress and development. Mikhail Gorbachev stated that the militaristic principle underlying the constant acquisition of arms should be replaced with the principle of disarmament, for the sake of progress and development.

The implementation of this principle in international life would certainly be in the interest of the Persian Gulf countries, which are currently the targets of an unending flood of arms from the West. The U.S. Administration continues to maintain its leading position among the merchants of death and arms exporters to the Persian Gulf countries and to the Middle and Near East.

Among the West European countries involved, both France and Great Britain are of note. In recent decades these three governments have exported some $70 billion in arms to countries in this region. In fact, a large portion of these arms shipments were exported in the last 5 years, which reflects the increased efforts in this area by the imperialist governments.

Until the Islamic Republic of Iran was founded, the United States was the major arms exporter to Iran, doing its best to strengthen the role of gendarme played by the shah's regime in the Persian Gulf. After the 11 February 1978 revolution other Western imperialist countries, including Great Britain, the FRG, Italy and others, have been trying to fill the vacuum created in the arms market.

Given the ongoing Iran-Iraq war, the arms race in the Persian Gulf may be particularly dangerous. It effectively prevents the two hostile countries from restoring normal relations through peaceful means and exacerbates tension in the region in general. This arms race may draw neighboring Persian Gulf countries into the War, which would then escalate. The millions used to purchase expensive arms constitute increased military expenditures that are an unbearable burden on the shoulders of these countries' workers.

In the Persian Gulf, Saudi Arabia spends the most for military purchases, followed by Iran and Iraq, in that order. Saudi Arabia's military expenditures constitute more than one-third of the military expenditures for the entire region. Between 1975 and 1983 these expenditures more than trebled. Military expenditures began to increase significantly at the outset of this decade, and by 1984 they comprised about 30 percent of these countries' budgets. The military expenditures per capita are the highest ever among the region's countries.

Iran's military expenditures during the seventies were extremely high. This was because of the escalation in military preparations carried out by the shah's regime. However, after the Islamic Republic of Iran was founded, the new regime sought initially to reduce these expenditures, though they again began to soar with the Iran-Iraq war. Between 1975 and 1983, Iran spent almost $60 billion for military purposes. A major part of this was spent to pay for arms exported to Iran from the West.

Iraq's military expenditures are also noteworthy. In (?1984) Iraq's military expenditures were proportionally second only to those of Saudi Arabia. They had increased eightfold in comparison to 1975. Iraq's total military expenditures from 1975 to 1983 surpassed the $41-billion mark.

On the whole, the total amount of military expenditures by Persian Gulf countries between 1975 and 1983 was about $260 billion, or more than 70 percent of the total military expenditures by all of the Near and Middle East countries. The amount spent by the Persian Gulf countries for arms purchases alone increased at nearly the same rate.

Thus, the neocolonialist policy pursued by the Western imperialists, primarily the United States, in the Near and Middle East and especially in the Persian Gulf has turned this region into a huge arsenal of lethal weapons and has rendered it a powderkeg that might explode at any moment, creating numerous calamities for the region's countries. All of this produces valid concern and anxiety among the region's people.

## KARMAL CITES CPSU CONGRESS, DRA POLICY AT PLENUM

PM021121 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Apr 86 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Widening the Social Base of the Revolution: B. Karmal's Report at the PDPA Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Kabul, 1 Apr -- The report of B. Karmal, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and chairman of the DRA Revolutionary Council, entitled "The Historic 27th CPSU Congress -- a Congress of Peace, Progress, and Creation -- and the PDPA's Next Tasks," which he delivered at a routine PDPA Central Committee plenum held in Kabul the other day, has been published here.

Major, crucial events, B. Karmal said, occur in history. One such event was the historic 27th CPSU Congress, which was an outstanding demonstration of the international cohesion of communists and revolutionaries throughout the world. It formulated the program goals of Lenin's party and defined the nature of Soviet society's progress along the path of communist creation. The congress' strategic decisions will actively promote the strengthening of socialism's positions and the stepping up of the struggle of all progressive mankind to avert the danger of nuclear war.

The 27th congress did tremendous, fruitful work. Its core was the Political Report of the Central Committee, which was delivered by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The Political Report to the congress is an outstanding document of creative Marxism-Leninism and a vivid example of what the revolutionary outlook and class approach mean in present-day conditions. It embodied the collective intelligence and experience of the CPSU, set forth the basic principles of the new way of political thinking, and spread an impressive canvas of creative activity. The report reinterprets a whole range of questions of party and state life, convincingly demonstrates the strengthening potential of the world system of socialism, and reflects an objective picture of the revolutionary process. This document arms all fighters for peace and social progress with a modern strategy and tactics for the struggle and with theoretical and practical instructions of great mobilizing force.

The 27th CPSU Congress decisions, B. Karmal pointed out, again confirm that only a party which lives by the people's interests and has a scientifically substantiated program can implement tasks on such an enormous scale.

The main idea running through the entire congress was that of entering the 21st century without nuclear, chemical, or other weapons of mass destruction; delivering mankind from the constant fear of the future; and transferring to peaceful purposes the vast resources spent on the arms race. The CPSU's foreign policy course is also a course of solidarity with the forces of social and national liberation; close cooperation with countries of a socialist orientation, with revolutionary democratic parties, and with the Nonaligned Movement; and the expansion of ties with all who are against war and in favor of international security. The main delegate to the 27th congress was peace, the Afghan leader stressed.

The Afghan people, he went on, watched the congress' work with unremitting attention and took to their hearts the report of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and especially what he said about our country. Only a true friend and brother can display such a principled stance, such concern for our country. On behalf of all the Afghan people, we say a great thank-you to the 27th CPSU Congress and to the working people of the Land of the Soviets for the all-around international assistance, thanks to which revolutionary Afghanistan lives, fights, and conquers.

The PDPA warmly approves and supports the decisions of the historic 27th congress and wishes the fraternal people of the Land of the Soviets, Lenin's party, the Central Committee, and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, great successes in implementing them.

The PDPA Central Committee Politburo has decided to publish in Dari and Pashto the CPSU Central Committee Political Report, the new edition of the CPSU Program, and other congress documents. Let the PDPA members master more profoundly the powerful weapon of revolutionary theory and learn to apply in practice, in our complex, unique conditions, all the wealth of the CPSU's experience and ideas.

The present plenum, B. Karmal went on, sums up the last Afghan year, a year filled with important events. The building of the new type of armed forces continued and their combat might strengthened. Last year will go down in history as the year of the Loya Jirga (the supreme council of the DRA) and the high Jirga of the Border Tribes, which wholly and fully supported our domestic and foreign policy. The country's socioeconomic development gathered speed.

The party Central Committee, the Revolutionary Council, and the government focused efforts on widening the social base of the April Revolution. The last PDPA Central Committee plenum explained the essence of the new approach to this, defined concrete tasks, and set about their implementation. The widening of the composition of the Revolutionary Council and Council of Ministers, the continuing democratic elections to local organs of state power and administration, the creation of new public organizations -- all these are measures which confirm that the party fulfills its decisions and the promises made to the people. It is gratifying that more and more Afghans are returning home. The party's growth continued. Today there are more than 150,000 members and candidate members of the PDPA. The number of primary party organizations increased.

B. Karmal went on to dwell on certain aspects of the country's military-political situation. He noted that in general much work has been done to strengthen state power locally, although much work remains to be done in this sphere.

B. Karmal called for work in rural regions to be stepped up. Party workers, he noted, when on local visits, should study the peasants' needs more deeply and help fulfill the decisions adopted.

We must shift the center of all the party's political and socioeconomic activity to the countryside, to where the majority of the country's population lives and works.

Along with political measures, socioeconomic measures play a leading role in the implementation of the new approach to widening the social base of the revolution. A very important event in the country's life was the elaboration of the draft Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the DRA for the next 5 years. Ordinary people, B. Karmal stated, can compare what the April Revolution offers the ordinary people with what has been imposed, for instance, on the Pakistanis by the military regime of Ziaul Haq. They have plans for aggression and the export of counterrevolution. We have plans for peace and creation.

Political methods and means, the speaker noted, must take the dominant place in work with the masses. This gives rise to an urgent need for a restructuring of party political work. Here what is most important is to make the transition from words to deeds and to step up control. A businesslike, concrete, exacting approach and dedication in the work of every party member and the entire PDPA -- that is the purpose of the current restructuring. Great significance is given to the stepping up of the work of women's, youth, and other mass public organizations in the ideological and patriotic education of the young generation. The struggle against illiteracy and the expansion of the public education system remain important avenues.

B. Karmal then set forth the tasks facing the country. He pointed out, in particular, that in the military sphere it is necessary to complete the implementation of measures to protect the state border, step up the struggle against banditry, and ensure peaceful, secure labor for the Afghans. In the domestic policy sphere, elections to local organs of power must be completed by the end of the Afghan year. By the same time the draft DRA Constitution must be prepared, ready for approval after nationwide discussion. B. Karmal cited as the main task in the spiritual sphere in the rallying of the people, military-patroitic education, and the stepping up of attention toward the development of the culture of all the peoples living in Afghanistan.

In the foreign policy sphere, B. Karmal stresses, all efforts must be directed toward achieving a political settlement of the Afghanistan situation. Following its peace-loving policy, the DRA has made every effort to achieve this goal through talks. Thanks to the DRA's efforts, and in particular the 14 May 1980 statement and the August 1981 statement, the way was opened for talks between the DRA and Pakistan. From the very beginning of the Geneva talks, the DRA, displaying good will and political realism, has done everything possible to ensure their successful progress. But unfortunately Pakistan, under pressure from imperialism, hegemonism, and reaction, adheres to a negative stance and, on various pretexts, evades direct, constructive dialogue. Therefore, although there has been some progress at the talks, they are still progressing too slowly.

In all spheres -- in party, state, and public life and in international affairs -- we must work better, selflessly, and with greater dedication, B. Karmal said in conculsion.

## DRA PROTESTS PAKISTANI ARTILLERY SHELLING

LD030908 Moscow TASS in English 0833 GMT 3 Mar 86

[Text] Kabul, April 3 TASS -- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan handed Pakistan's charge d'affaires in Afghanistan a statement, which reads:

Despite repeated protests, Pakistan continues to intervene in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Between March 10 and 23 this year, troops of the Pakistani Army and gangs of Afghan counterrevolutionaries opened missile and artillery fire on several occasions at the Chamkani, (Darzakheyl), (Marakheyl) and (Bangesh) areas in Afghan territory, killing or wounding more than 100 African citizens and destroying 50 homes and 4 mosques.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan strongly protests with Pakistan over these acts of aggression and demands the immediate termination of inhuman actions, which are aggravating tension on the border between the two countries.

A spokesman for the Afghan Foreign Ministry denied the groundless claims of Pakistan that the Armed Forces of Afghanistan opened fire at Pakistani territory between March 22 and 29 and demanded an immediate end to the spread of such falsehoods.

## PAKISTAN ENVOY PRAISES USSR AID, PEACE MOVES

LD232043 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 23 Mar 86

[From the "Vremya" newscast; talk by Shahid Mohammad Amin, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan to the USSR to mark Pakistan's National Day; recorded talk in English with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] Dear Soviet friends: Pakistan became an independent country only 39 years ago. The territory it occupies is a cradle of one of the world's most ancient civilizations. For millenia grand cultures flourished here; among the most significant were the Gandahara culture, widespread in our country's northern regions and the Islamic culture, which exerted considerable influence on the development of the whole country.

This has helped form a special national identify and prerequisites for our great leader Mohammad 'Ali Jinnan's historic 23 March 1940 appeal for an independent motherland of Pakistan in which our people would be able to live in freedom and develope in accordance with the Islamic faith. A nation born in conditions such as these could not but embrace the ideals of freedom, sovereign equality of states, and opposition to colonialism and neocolonialism in all its manifestations.

The Islamic brotherhood is an important principle of our foreign policy. The second principle is support for Third World countries. Pakistan pursues an independent foreign policy based on the principles of nonaligment. There are no foreign bases whatever -- nor will there be any -- on its territory. Striving for peace and friendship with all peoples and, in particular, with its neighbors, Pakistan has no wish to be dragged into confrontation. We support all steps toward disarmament and we welcome the USSR initiatives in this area.

Since independence was proclaimed in 1947, Pakistan has gained considerable successes. The growth of the economic potential amounts to 6 percent, the per capita income in our country is South Asia's highest. Not only is the country self-sufficient in food it is also one of the world's biggest exporters of rice and cotton produce. Pakistan possesses a developed production base, more than 70 percent of exports comprise industrial goods.

We would have been unable to achieve such successes without help from our friends. We are grateful to the USSR for aid in constructing industrial projects and, in particular, the recently commissioned Karachi metallurgical works.

We are confident that there are extensive opportunities for fuller cooperation between our countries in the economic and trade fields. The USSR is one of our neighbours and we sincerely want to maintain cordial and friendly relations with it. The cultural heritage of our countries have much in common, especially as far as the history of Pakistan's culture and the history of culture of the Soviet Central Asia are concerned. Our countries hold the same viewpoint on numerous international questions.

We are sure that the good-neighborly relations, based on the principles of the UN Charter, correspond to our mutual interests. Thank you.

## PAKISTAN ENVOY HOSTS HOLIDAY RECEPTION

PM030335 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Mar 86 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Shahid Mohammad Amin, Pakistani ambassador to the USSR, gave a reception 24 March to mark the national holiday, Pakistan Day.

T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and other officials, attended the reception.

## INDIA ATTEMPTS TO GUARD BORDER WITH PAKISTAN

LD030735 Moscow TASS in English 0730 GMT 3 Apr 86

[Text] New Delhi, April 3 TASS -- Indian security forces have taken additional measures to guard the border with Pakistan.

The measures, PTI News Agency said, aim to prevent agents of Pakistani secret services from penetrating this country to try and destabilize the situation in the strategically important State of Punjab and other Indian districts.

Last month alone 20 spies and saboteurs attempting to infiltrate into Punjab to commit acts of terrorism there were killed in shoot-outs with Indian frontier-guards.

Four of the border violators were arrested.

## FURTHER REPORTAGE ON BULGARIAN PARTY CONGRESS

### Zhivkov Address

LD021316 Moscow TASS in English 1246 GMT 2 Apr 86

[Text] Sofia April 2 TASS -- Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, has addressed a speech to the 13th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, which has opened here today. He set forth the fundamental issues of the party's policy of further building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria and its foreign policy activity.

The congress, Todor Zhivkov said, will center on problems pertaining to Bulgaria's development for the next fifteen years. "The main thing to us is to carry out a revolution in science and technology and develop on that basis the advantages of the socialist social system, socialist democracy and meeting ever fuller the material, social and spiritual requirements of the people".

Bulgaria has achieved high and stable economic growth rates, Todor Zhivkov said. Over the period from 1956 to 1985, the value of the fixed assets in the country's economy increased ten-fold, the productivity of socialized labour -- 8.4-fold and national income -- eight-fold. There have been far-reaching changes in the structure of industry. Such important industries for the country's economy as metallurgy, machine-building, the chemical and power engineering industries have developed at priority rates. High development rates are characteristic of electronics, microelectronics, robtics and the manufacture of battery-powered trucks.

"Our perspectives are part of the general perspectives of the socialist world," Todor Zhivkov stressed. "They are part of the general social progress, the struggle of peoples for a better and just life. We are convinced of the triumph of the communist ideals and firmly believed that our today's intentions and plans for the future, when the Bulgarian people will meet the third millenia, will become its present."

Todor Zhivkov went on to say that in the field of international relations the Bulgarian Communist Party will centre on the "cardinal problem of preserving peace and life on earth, of saving human civilization. The weapon's race whipped up by imperialism's most reactionary circles confronts mankind at the end of the 20th century with the alternative: to be or not to be, to survive or to perish in the flames of nuclear war."

The speaker stressed the important role of the 27th Congress of the CPSU "for a dynamic economic and political development of the world socialist system, implementation of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, cooperation and peaceful competition for mankind's benefit." Todor Zhivkov expressed support for the new Soviet initiatives. "To us, Communists, the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe and preservation of universal peace is the supreme goal, an expression of humanism and high moral standards of our ideology and our system," Todor Zhivkov said.

Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov continued, will further make her contribution to strengthening the unity and cohesion of the fraternal socialist countries, to the implementation of the platform of the Warsaw Treaty member states adopted in Sofia for joint actions in the struggle to eliminate the nuclear threat and effect a turn for the better in the European and world affairs; for international cooperation in resolving the global problems of the present.

Todor Zhivkov stressed the great significance of the comprehesive program for progress in science and technology of the CMEA member countries, Bulgaria's interest in its implementation.

The speaker continued that the Bulgarian Communist Party is developing and will tirelessly deepen its links with the international communist and working class movement. It favours a further strengthening of cooperation and solidarity with the various trends in the working class movement. Its positions in relations with developing countries are invariable. "We make common cause with the struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism, against racism and apartheid," he said. We fully support the demands of developing countries for a restructuring of international relations on a just and democratic basis, for establishing a new international economic order.

Todor Zhivkov said that Bulgaria favours equitable and mutually beneficial relations with the developed capitalist countries, a political dislogue, economic, scientific technological and cultural cooperation without discrimination, in the interests of peaceful coexistence. The Bulgarian Communist Party devotes considerable attention to mutual relations with the Balkan states. "We believe that the need is ripe for the Balkan nations to draw up and sign a treaty on the ecological protection of the Balkan peninsula and adopt on that issue an appeal to all countries and peoples of the European continent", he said. In that connection, Todor Zhivkov stresses, "we will further work for the sake of implementing initiatives aimed at turning the Balkans into a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons."

"We declare again that our people, which is engaged in a creative labour effort, most of all need detente and peace, goodneighbourly relations, trust and mutual understanding," the general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee stressed.

## Ryzhkov Outlines Moratorium

LD021421 Moscow TASS in English 1358 GMT 2 Apr 86

[Test] Sofia April 2 TASS -- "The ssolution of the new tasks that have been set by the 27th CPSU Congress and that are being set by the 13th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party is directly connected with the utilisation of the tremendous possibilities of cooperation and interaction by Bulgaria and the USSR, by all of the socialist community in various fields by public life and in international affairs," it was stated by member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee. Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Nikolay Ryzhkov, who is heading the CPSU delegation at the 13th Congress of the BCP. He delivered a speech today at the forum of Bugarian Communists.

Nikolay Ryzhkov stressed that the tasks of the present stage of cooperation demand the use of new approaches and forms of joint work, a bold research for effective solutions. It is this that provides the possibility to switch our cooperation to the intensive road of development, to raise it to a qualitatively new level, imparts a powerful impulse to the further expansion of our trade, economic, scientific, technical and other ties.

"We are convinced of socialism's ability to solve the most complex tasks", the head of the CPSU delegation said. "An ever more active interaction of countries of the community, which serves as a sitmulant of accelerating the general advance, it vitally important for this".

"The fraternal countries are at one in their approach to all the main questions of international life. The community of our positions vividly manifested itself in the unanimous support given by the fraternal countries to the programme of fully liquidating all arsenals of nuclear and chemical arms before the end of the present century, of prohibiting strike space arms, set forth in the statement by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee on the fundamentals of creating an all-embracing system of international security was received with full approval".

"The ending of nuclear tests is an important measure that could have a favourable influence on the political climate in the world. We have already extended twice our unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions in the hope that the American Administration would display at long last a responsible approach to this problem of concern to mankind. But the United States displayed a cynical disregard for the aspirations of the peoples, for the possibility to make a real step towards scaling down the arms race. The new nuclear explosion set off by the United States has given rise to the legitimate indignation and a wave of protests in the whole world", Nikolay Ryzhkov stressed. "All this only makes more urgent the task of stopping nuclear arms tests, and it must be solved without delay. The Soviet Union, as it was stated recently on Soviet television by Mikhail Gorbachev, will not depart from the course of preserving and strengthening peace. Our undertaking not to conduct nuclear explosions even after the expiration of the moratorium on March 31 shall remain in force, if the United States does not continue tests".

"Mikhail Gorbachev", the leader of the CPSU delegation recalled, "suggested that a meeting with President Ronald Reagan of the United States be held urgently in order to reach agreement on this matter". "It is to be only regretted that the abovementioned proposal has not met with a positive response. Washington has again displayed the lack of political will for a solution to this major problem which affects the destiny of all peoples. The international situation remains tense and dangerous as a result of the imperialist power politics, the development of the arms race, and interference in the internal affairs of other states. The situation requires high vigilance and everyday preparedness of all us to defend the peaceful labour of our peoples".

"It is uncharacteristic of the Communists to sink into pessimism. The more so as the Soviet Union, the socialist community possess everything necessary to prevent a military-and-strategic superiority over themselves. This strengthens our confidence that, despite the resistance of the aggressive forces, there is a possibility to ensure a turn for the better in European and world affairs", Nikolay Ryzhkov stated.

### Further Ryzhkov Remarks

LD022249 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Apr 86

[Speech by Nikolay Ryzhkov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to the 13th BCP Congress in Sofia on 2 April -- recorded; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Congresses of the ruling Communist parties and workers parties of fraternal countries have vast importance in the development of our whole community. Their role is particularly great at this present abrupt historical turning point when life is putting forward for the socialist countries large-scale tasks which concern us all to a great extent, when our parties are conducting an energetic and creative search for effective ways to carry them out. In these conditions the importance of the mighty potential of the collective wisdom of the fraternal parties and their joint efforts to accelerate our common progress is greater than ever.

The report of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the opening speech made by Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the speeches of the congress delegates reveal an impressive picture of all-around progress of the Bulgarian People's Republic. Its socialist achievements are a convincing confirmation of the correctness of the historical choice which was made by the Bularian people in the memorable days of September 1944.

From the rostrum of your congress a high assessment has been given of Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation. Kind words have been spoken about our Leninist party and the USSR. The basis of our friendship is socialist internationalism. It is a powerful factor in the development of every socialist country and in strengthening the positions of socialism in the world. Questions of the multifaceted Soviet-Bulgarian links are constantly in the purview of the Central Committees of our parties. They have become a direct and vital affair of millions of working people in Bulgaria and the USSR.

Much attention was paid at the 27th CPSU Congress to questions of strengthening the socialist community and developing cooperation among the fraternal countries. The fate of peace and social progress, as was stressed in the Political Report of our party to the congress, are today linked more closely than ever with the dynamism of the economic and political development of the world system of socialism.

Comrades, the fraternal parties are united in their approach to all the major questions of international life. The proposals put forward by the socialist countries at the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states in Sofia in October 1985, are aimed at solving the most urgent and cardinal problem of our time -- removing the threat of nuclear war. The common nature of our positions was clearly displayed in the unanimous support of the fraternal countries for the program for the total elimination of all arsenals of nuclear and chemical weapons by the end of this century and for the ban on space-strike weapons that was put forward in the statement of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee of 15 January this year. The proposal of the 27th CPSU Congress on the basis for the creation of an all-embracing system of international security was received with complete approval. The halting of nuclear tests is an important measure which could have a favorable effect on the world political climate. However, the United States has displayed a cynical disregard for the hopes of the peoples and for the opportunity to take a real step in curtailing the arms race. The new nuclear blast carried out by the United States has aroused justified indignation and a wave of protest throughout the world.

All of this only intensifies the urgency of the task of ceasing nuclear weapons tests and it must be tackled without delay. Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has proposed an urgent meeting with President Reagan in order to reach agreement on this question. One can only regret that this proposal has not met with a positive response. Washington has once again displayed an absence of political will to solve this very important problem which concerns the fate of all peoples.

The USSR highly evaluates the role of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian People's Republic in defending our common foreign policy positions and in our joint struggle to resolve key questions of disarmament and international security. We value and support your efforts aimed at the development of relations of good-neighborliness in the Balkans, at turning this region into a zone of peace free from nuclear and chemical weapons. Your active foreign policy activity is a weighty contribution to the general cause of the struggle for peace.

Dear comrades, we are deeply convinced that the results of the work of the congress will have a favorable effect on the economic and social development of your wonderful country, on the all-around cooperation between our parties and peoples and will promote the strengthening of the might and cohesion of the whole socialist community. We wish you great success in carrying out these responsible and noble tasks. [applause]

## MORE ON SOLOMENTSEV'S CPCZ CONGRESS SPEECH

PM021446 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Mar 86 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "17th CPCZ Congress: Speech by Comrade M.S. Solomentsev"]

[Text] Prague, 25 Mar -- CPSU delegation head M.S. Solomentsev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, who was warmly welcomed by those assembled, addressed the 17th CPCZ Congress today. He said:

Esteemed Comrade Husak!

Esteemed delegates to the 17th CPCZ Congress!

Accept cordial and fraternal greetings and wishes for complete success in the work of your congress from the CPSU Central Committee, Soviet Communists, and all working people in our country.

We heard with great interest the CPCZ Central Committee Political Report delivered by Comrade Gustav Husak. This profound and meaningful document sums up the results of the work done by your party and people in the last 5 years and in the entire period since the 16th CPCZ Congress.

The social practice of these years testifies to the absolute correctness and effectiveness of the political course taken by you. Czechoslovakia today is a state with highly developed industry and agriculture and a firm link in the socialist community.

It enjoys respect and prestige in the international arena. We are sincerely gratified by the fact that the Czechoslovak comrades have succeeded in substantially building up the country's economic potential, scoring remarkable achievements in the development of science and culture, and ensuring further growth of the population's living standards.

All this does honor to the policy of the Communist Party and to the labor and talents of fraternal Czechoslovakia's working class, cooperativized peasantry, and people's intelligentsia. All this constitutes a valuable contribution to strengthening the might of world socialism and enhancing its prestige.

The CPCZ Central Committee, evaluating what has been done on its merit, critically analyzes shortcomings and omissions in its report. Particular attention is given to the quest for effective ways for your society to advance toward greater heights of economic and social progress.

This approach is understandable and close to the hearts of Soviet Communists. Being demanding, exacting, and objectively criticizing evaluations of its activity -- these are signs of the party's health. They also provide a reliable guarantee that it will successfully cope with the new tasks.

Despite all the differences in the Soviet Union's and Czechoslovakia's specific conditions, we share a common need. The need to accelerate our pace, impart greater dynamism to socioeconomic development, and reveal more fully the enormous potential inherent in socialism.

The strategy of acceleration put forward for the first time by the CPSU Central Committee Plenum in April last year formed the core of the decisions by our party's 27th congress. The importance of the congress is determined by the very meaning of the crucial stage at which our country finds itself. One of its typical features is the bold, innovative, and truly revolutionary approach toward the complex problems facing us on the threshold of the 21st century. Held in a spirit of creative Marxism-Leninism and Bolshevik traditions, the congress armed Communists and all Soviet people with a clear vision of the prospects of social development.

The ideas contained in the new edition of the CPSU Program, the Central Committee Political Report delivered by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, and the other congress documents and materials encountered a broad response in the world. A high assessment of the forum of Soviet Communists and wishes for the fulfillment of all plans have been expressed from this rostrum. Thank you, dear comrades, for these kind words and for your invariable solidarity with our party and people!

We have embarked on the implementation of large-scale, complex, and multifaceted plans. We are talking about doubling the country's vast economic potential by the end of the century, about qualitative changes in all aspects of Soviet society's life. This presupposes a fundamental renewal of the material and technical base of production on the basis of the acheivements of the scientific and technical revolution. The entire system of the planned management of the economy must be radically improved.

Profound changes will occur in the nature of labor and in the material and spiritual conditions of Soviet people's life. There will be furher improvements in social relations; discipline, responsibility, and order will be strengthened. The struggle against bureaucracy and various antisocial phenomena is being stepped up.

The implementation of the congress decisions demands a substantial exertion of efforts and extensive organizational, ideological, and educational work, because the human factor is the main one here. Ultimately everything depends on people -- on their attitude toward labor, on their conscientiousness, energy, and initiative. This is why the CPSU's policy is aimed at developing Soviet democracy and socialist self-management in every way and creating the best conditions for revealing man's creative potential.

The 27th congress literally roused the country and met with the ardent support of the entire people. The CPSU Central Committee put on the agenda the task of consolidating the atmosphere of creative enthusiasm and bringing the essence and spirit of the congress decisions to every Communist and every Soviet person. And the main thing is to ensure that they are fulfilled. We have not doubt that our party and people will manage to implement what has been planned and to take a major stride in communist building!

Comrades!

The 27th congress program documents reflect the CPSU's determination to continue to steadily expand and deepen cooperation with the fraternal countries' Communist and workers parties and to make every contribution to strengthening their unity. There is no need to mention how great the significance of this unity is in the present-day situation. And it is gratifying that relations between the CPSU and the CPCZ are a lofty example of socialist internationalism.

New and graphic proof of this was provided by the recent Moscow meeting of the two parties' leaders -- Comrades Gorbachev and Husak -- which took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and complete unity of views.

Our countries' interaction now covers all spheres of social life. The volume of economic ties in the 5-year plan period which has just begun is expressed by a colossal figure -- more than R70 billion. We are pooling our efforts in raw materials extraction, the construction of gigantic power industry enterprises, and the building of major transport arteries. Our joint labor is invested in the "Soyuz" gas pipeline, the Jaslovske Bohunice and Dukovany nuclear power stations, and the Prague subway. Czechoslovakia is playing an active part in construction projects on USSR territory -- the construction of the Yamburg gas pipeline, the Krivoy Rog mining and enriching combine, and the Urals gas complex.

No one, however, would be so bold as to say that Soviet-Czechoslovak economic, scientific, and technical ties have reached their limit. On the contrary, we share the belief that major reserves exist for the deepening of cooperation, and primarily its most promising forms -- specialization and production sharing. The tasks facing the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and the entire socialist community today and the acuteness of the competition with capitalism demand a qualitatively new level of integration between the fraternal countries.

There is now a particularly great need for direct ties between industrial enterprises and for the establishment of joint firms and science-and-production associations. The Program for Long-Term Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation Between the USSR and the CSSR for the Period Through the Year 2000 which was adopted last year and the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress provide for the pooling of efforts along the most important priority avenues of science and technology. The dynamics of economic and social development depend on this to a decisive extent.

The scientific and technical revolution is significantly changing the face of the modern world. Communists perceive its achievements as an effective means for the material and cultural progress of all peoples. Rockets and computers, earth satellites in space and interplanetary craft -- all these must be used for the benefit of mankind and not as instruments for its destruction.

Quite recently we witnessed a brilliant experiment -- the study of Halley's Comet by spacecraft created and equipped through the efforts of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and a number of other countries. This is an example of how advanced technological thinking has found and must find a fitting humanitarian application!

As yet, however, there are only isolated examples of this kind. Unfortunately, human reason and vast material resources are being wasted on other things. Aggressive imperialist circles continue to whip up the arms race on earth and have not abandoned their intentions to transfer it into space. It is quite natural that, until an end is put to this, mankind will be unable to feel secure.

The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, together with the other fraternal countries, are waging a consistent and persistent struggle for a radical change for the better in the European and international situation. This is the goal pursued by many of our joint peace initiatives, including those put forward at the Prague and Sofia conferences of the Warsaw Pact states' Political Consultative Committee.

An enormous response was generated in the world by the 15 January statement by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which contained a program for the phased liberation of the world from nuclear weapons by the end of this century. These proposals were developed by the 27th CPSU Congress, which formulated the foundations for the creation of an all-embracing system of international security.

This enabled the peoples again -- for the umpteenth time! -- to see for themselves that the terms "socialism" and "peace" are inseparable. On the other hand, life and political practice show who is actually opposed to the cause of disarmament.

Particular mention must be made of the problem of the termination of nuclear tests. It is well known that the Soviet Union, in accordance with the interests and appeals of all peace-loving forces, annouced a unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions, and for almost 8 months now has not conducted any such explosions. And how did Washington respond to this important action? On 22 March the world reacted with indignation to the challenging militarist actions by the U.S. Administration which, despite numerous appeals by the Soviet Union, other countries, and the broad public in the United States itself, conducted a nuclear weapon test. This is yet further proof that Washington's real goal is not to reduce and eliminate nuclear weapons but, on the contrary, to build them up and to create new and even more destructive varieties.

An indication of this can also be seen in the U.S. Government's attitude toward our proposal to eliminate Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe and in its stubborn desire to push through the "star wars" concept and present it as a "defensive alternative" to nuclear weapons. In other words, the U.S. Administration is striving by all means to change to its own advantage the prevailing approximate equilibrium of forces between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

It is clear that the socialist states will never agree to this and will not allow their sovereignty, their revolutionary gains, and peace on the continent to be threatened.

Utmost vigilance toward the schemes by the opponents of international cooperation and social progress is required in the complex international situation, when imperialism is not ceasing its attempts to fan existing seats of tension and create new ones.

The Soviet Union will utilize any opportunity to break the trend toward the growth of the military danger. In this noble cause, as before, we will act in close unity with socialist Czechoslovakia and the other faternal countries and will cooperate actively with all progressive and peace-loving forces. Our sympathies and the socialist community countries' solidarity and support will remain on the side of peoples struggling for their freedom and independence.

Our countries' working people deem it their patriotic and international duty to build socialism and uphold the cause of peace. These lofty goals are pursued by the domestic and foreign policies of the CPSU and the CPCZ and of the Soviet Union and the CSSR.

We wish you, dear comrades, and also all Communists and the entire Czechoslovak people, great successes in fulfilling the 17th CPCZ Congress decisions!

We will coninue to strengthen the all-around interaction between our fraternal parties and to deepen the relations of comradeship and friendship between the Soviet and Czechoslovak people!

Long live socialism! Long live peace!

## CPCZ CONGRESS CONFIRMS PARTY'S 'CORRECTNESS'

PM031009 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Mar 86 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The Great Strength of Socialism"]

[Text] This year is a special year in the life of many socialist countries. It is the year of the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties' congresses, a year marked by great political and labor enthusiasm and increased creative activeness of the broad masses. The Soviet people are working persistently to implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress which put forward bold but realistic tasks in accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and strengthening world peace. Its documents and ideas continue to attract profound interest, to exert a beneficial influence on the political atmosphere in fraternal countries, and to inspire Communists and millions of working people to selfless labor for the sake of consolidating the might of socialism and social progress and ensuring lasting peace and peoples' security.

The strength of the fraternal countries' communist and workers' parties lies in their fidelity to Marxism-Leninsim and socialist internationalism, in their ability to learn constantly, to draw on mutual experience, and to solve promptly and creatively the problems raised by life. This has again been convincingly demonstrated by the 17th CPCZ Congress which was held in Prague recently. It summed up the results of the vast amount of work carried out by the party and the people over the past 5 years and during the entire period since the 14th CPCZ Congress and it defined the tasks for the next stage of the building of developed socialism. The congress convincingly confirmed the unquestionable correctness and effectiveness of the political course implemented by the party.

The supreme forum of the Czechoslovak Communists was held in a businesslike, workerlike atmosphere under the banner of the mobilization of the party and the people in an effort to achieve high results in all spheres of economic, social, and cultural building. It was marked by an exacting, demanding approach toward the analysis of the work done and the definition of future plans, by resolve to achieve the set aims, and by confidence that this will be done. This testifies to the political maturity and health of the party and its loyalty to Lenin's behest that it should view its activity critically, boldly implementing increasingly complex tasks, and sumounting shortcomings and difficulties which can arise in the implementation of an innovative task on such a colossal scale as is the creation of the communist civilization.

The latest CPCZ congress took place on the eve of an important event, the 65th anniversary of the CPCZ. It has traveled a long and glorious path. Under its leadership profound socioeconomic changes have been worked in the country. Present-day Czechoslovakia is a country famed for its large-sclae industry, efficient cooperative firming, and developed science and culture. In socialist Czechoslovakia real rights and freedoms and a high level of the people's prosperity are ensured in practice and broad opportunities are provided for the satisfaction of people's spiritual requirements and the development of their creative talents.

Now the republic is to scale new important heights. The 17th congress has approved a program for further socialist building in the CSSR during the Eighth 5-Year Plan and the period through the year 2000. The congress emphasized that the key task is the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of the society and a substantial enhancement of the efficiency of the national economy. The party regards the further improvement of the people's well-being, the strengthening of their social guarantees, and the creation of conditions for the deepening of the socialist way of life as its main task on which it must above all concentrate its efforts.

On the basis of an analysis of the potential and the requirements of the country's development through the end of the century, high aims have been set: National income is to be increased by more than two-thirds over 15 years while the materials- and energy-intensiveness of production is to be substantially reduced. The way to achieve this is to enhance social labor productivity in every way and to swiftly apply the achievements of science and technology in practice.

A reliable guarantee of the implementation of the outlined plans is Czechoslovakia's active collaboration with the fraternal community countries and its participation in the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress of CEMA Member-Countries. Economic ties between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union are developing dynamically. In the current 5-year plan their volume totals the vast sum of more than R70 billion. However, the potential for the further deepening of cooperation is far from exhausted. The interests of accelerated economic development and life itself suggest the need for expanded international division of labor, specialization, production sharing, the establishment of joint firms and science-and-production associations, and a qualitatively new level of economic integration of the fraternal countries.

The congress noted that the current stage of socialist building demands from party committees and organizations that they constantly improve their leadership of economic and cultural building, quest for new forms and methods of work, and ensure greater efficiency and self-criticism. They are called upon to persistently equip Communists and broad strata of the population with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook and to pay attention to the education of young people.

Together with the other fraternal socialist countries, the CSSR is actively contributing to the struggle for ridding mankind of the threat of nuclear war and for lasting peace. Delegates and representatives of the fraternal parties and of other revolutionary and progressive organizations and movements who attended the congress noted the increased importance of the socialist community countries' peace-loving policy. They expressed full support for the comprehensive Soviet peace and disarmament program put forward by the 27th CPSU Congress, the idea of establishing an all-embracing system of international security, and the plan to eliminate nuclear weapons by the end of this century.

Soviet people value highly the fraternal relations with Czechoslovakia's working people and express the wish that the latter may successfully attain the a new high goals set by the 17th CPCZ Congress and that they may, in single combat formation with the peoples of all the community's fraternal countries, constantly strengthen the might and the positions of world socialism.

The 17th CPCZ Congress marks an important milestone in the life of the fraternal country and our entire community.

## FURTHER REPORTAGE ON SINOWATZ VISIT, MEETINGS

### Addresses Exhibition Opening

LD021401 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 2 Apr 86

[Text] The Austrian national exhibition, Modern Austrian Industrial Equipment, opened in Moscow today. Fred Sinowatz, federal chancellor of Austria, spoke at the opening ceremony. He noted that Austrian-Soviet trade and economic relations are distinguished by a special stability and are not affected by any outside influences.

Comrade Talyzin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosplan, said in his address that multifaceted Soviet-Austrian cooperation, which is based on the firm foundation of the 1955 State Treaty and the law on the permanent neutrality of Austria, is developing fruitfully overall. Comrade Talyzin stressed that the maintenance and strengthening of good-neighborliness with all countries in the world, including the Republic of Austria, is a consistent position of principle for the USSR endorsed by the 27th CPSU Congress.

The many exhibits on show from over 180 Austrian firms are evidence of Austria's considerable achievements in the development of various branches of industry, in science and technology, in transport, and in agriculture.

### Report on Gorbachev Talks

LD021741 Moscow TASS in English 1726 GMT 2 Apr 86

[Text] Moscow April 2 TASS -- The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev today received in the Kremlin the Federal Chancellor of the Austrian Republic Fred Sinowatz, who is staying in Moscow on the occasion of the opening of an Austrian industrial exhibition.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Fred Sinowatz discussed a wide range of questions in a businesslike and wellwishing atmosphere. Satisfaction was expressed with the successful development of all-round ties -- political, social, cultural -- between the USSR and Austria which base themselves on the 1955 State Treaty and the status of the permanent neutrality of the Austrian Republic. This is a convincing example of fruitful peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The attained level of economic cooperation was praised and the striving was expressed to bring this cooperation to a new stage with the aim of its further development along the ascending line, with the use of new forms and with due consideration for the long-term interests of both countries.

In this connection Mikhail Gorbachev outlined the main ideas and plans of the large-scale transformations of the economic mechanism that have been started in the Soviet Union and shared his views on the problems that will have to be solved in the course of the Soviet society's perfection.

A deep exchange of views was held on topical international questions. In the course of the frank conversation Mikhail Gorbachev assessed the situation that has developed after the Geneva summit meeting, the policy of the West in questions of nuclear disarmament and security, and informed Fred Sinowatz of the line which the Soviet state intends to pursue in conditions when the United States Administration, judging by everything, is not inclined to stop the material preparation of war. Mikhail Gorbachev stressed the important role of Austria, to other neutral and non-aligned countries in the efforts to preserve peace and improve international relations. At the present extremely important moment of international development the active position of the public, political parties, including the social democracy, acquires an ever greater

The federal chancellor noted the constructive nature and peaceableness of the Soviet initiatives and expressed hope that a breakthrough will take place at long last at the Soviet-American talks and the hopes generated worldwide by the meeting in Geneva will not be in vain.

The mutual intent to facilitate actively the continuation of the all-European Helsinki process was confirmed.

### REPORT ON TALKS BETWEEN ANTONOV, FRG'S BANGEMANN

LD031237 Moscow TASS in English 1111 GMT 3 Apr 86

[Text] Moscow April 3 TASS -- The 14th session of the intergovernmental Soviet-West German Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation has opened here today. It is chaired by Alexey Antonov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. The West German delegation is led by Economics Minister Martin Bangemann.

The participants in the session will review progress in the fulfilment of accords on economic cooperation between the two countries and the functioning of mixed experts groups on engineering, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy and consumer goods. In addition, the West German delegation will be supplied with information about Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and in the Period to the Year 2000.

It was said at the opening meeting of the session that the development of economic contacts between the USSR and West Germany had a positive effect on the entire complex of relations between the two states. The leaders of the delegations noted in their speeches the readiness of the two sides further to extend business contacts in the economy, science and technology, which met mutual interests.

During the past 10 years, West Germany has been topping the list of the Soviet Union's Western trade partners. Last year trade between the two countries was worth 7.1 billion roubles. The well-known "Gas for Tubes" according is making a major contribution to the development of bilatreal trade" West Germany has got 106 billion cubic metres of Soviet natural gas during 13 years under that agreement.

The Soviet business community believes that the improvement of trade turnover patterns is an important factor of the further expansion of trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and West Germany. To do this it is necessary first and foremost broader to use diverse forms of contacts in addition to trade [sentence as received] These may include, for instance, the joint development, production and marketing of machinery, equipment and other goods, "buy-back" deals, and joint ventures on the markets of third countries. The partners have already accumulated some experience in that field. One-fourth of the Soviet experts of machinery and equipment from West Germany, for instance, is made up of output produced under co-production and "buy-back" deals.

### APN COMMENTS ON BERLIN-SDI RELATIONSHIP

LD311655 Hamburg DPA in German 1612 GMT 31 Mar 86

[Text] Berlin, 31 Mar (DPA) -- The Soviet Union views the inclusion of Berlin in any work connected with SDI as a violation of the four-power agreement. In a commentary carried by APN in Berlin on Easter Monday it says that it is well known that "West Berlin has demilitarized status." And on those grounds alone it can not be included in any work which has the aim of creating weapons. The United States knows that for that reason it has not wanted any "Berlin clauses and formulas" and has only agreed to them after long hesitation.

APN continues, it is "patently obvious" that any work in West Berlin which in the end contributes to the creation of weapons systems which could be used against one of the parties to the agreement is not permitted and could result in complications.

SDI supporters in the FRG tried to justify their actions by saying that West Berlin is allegedly included in the technology agreement and not in the agreement concerning the participation of companies in SDI. However, this is nothing more than an "inappropriate excuse." The technology agreement which was concluded simultaneously and in direct connection with the SDI agreement has to touch on security interests and consequently belongs to those international treaties and agreeements whose validity the FRG could not extend to Berlin, as it says unequivocally in the four-power agreement.

"All evasions," such as firms participating in SDI will deal with the Economics Ministry and not the Defense Ministry, are not relevant in this respect. It remains a fact that West Berlin is to be included in work which was 100 percent part of the security field, "or to put it more exactly, is aimed at undermining security and stability."

## GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER VIEWS RELATIONS WITH USSR

PM271509 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Mar 86 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by G. Shakhunyan: "Strengthening Peace and Independence"]

[Excerpts] Athens -- The Greek capital and the cities and villages of Hellas are in festive attire. Lykabettos mountain rising over Athens is also adorned with dark blue and white banners, and it is from its peak that the traditional gun salute early in the morning on 25 March will proclaim the arrival in the country of a glorious Greek holiday -- Independence Day. In the postwar decades, right up to the fall of the military dictatorship's regime in 1974, Soviet-Greek relations were put to considerable test. However, no "cold winds" could chill the feeling of mutual sympathy between our people or their traditional desire for cooperation and friendship.

Precisely this friendship has today become a firm foundation for the development of Soviet-Greek relations, which are an example of how states with different social systems can and must cooperate.

Greece expresses satisfaction with the multifaceted, equal ties between our countries and notes the fruitfulness of meetings between statesmen and parliamentarians, the exchange of delegations between municipalities and city councils, and the development of tourist and sports ties.

"Deep, multifaceted relations have long been established between our countries," K. Papoulias, Greek foreign minister, said in a conversation with our correspondent. "Our political, economic, and cultural relations have taken a great step forward in the last 5 years, since the government of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement has been in power. Developing on a traditional basis, they have become sincere and truly friendly. We have discovered great potential for dynamic, mutually profitable cooperation. Both sides have spoken very clearly in favor of further strengthening our relations. The exchange of visits by the two countries' heads of government that has taken place during these years is evidence of the ongoing development of our political relations. Our relations are based on the common interest of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Greece in strengthening peace, in mutually striving to develop the process of detente and disarmament, and broad international cooperation." "In this connection," the minister said in conclusion, "I would like to stress that the Greek Government has responded positively to the new Soviet proposals aimed at eliminating all types of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, which were set out in M.S. Gorbachev's statement of 15 January, and that it supports as a whole the new Soviet peace initiatives put forward during the work of the 27th CPSU Congress."

## TURKISH REFUSAL OF MORE NUCLEAR ARMS VIEWED

PM020811 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Mar 86 First Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent A. Stepanov: "Turkey's Position"]

[Text] Ankara, 27 Mar -- At the recent session of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group in the West German city of Wuerzburg, the Turkish representative stated that his country does not intend to assume additional nuclear commitments within the framework of this military bloc.

As is well known, the Honest John missiles now on Turkish territory are being replaced with Lance missiles with a far larger radius and a plant for the production of modern F-16 fighter bombers is being constructed with U.S. aid. At the same time, talks are under way on Turkey's acquisition of Tornado combat aircraft of joint European production.

In Wuerzburg the United States and the FRG tried to get Turkey to agree to equip the Lance missiles with nuclear warheads. The NATO strategists also want to provide nuclear weapons for the aircraft which will be at the service of the Turkish Air Force. However, the newspaper CUMHURIYET writes, citing the Turkish Foreign Ministry, that at the Nuclear Planning Group session, Ankara refused U.S. and NATO demands, stressing that those conditions contradict Turkey's national interests and would cause serious damage to its relations with neighboring countries, primarily the Soviet Union.

## TASS VIEWS U.S. MOTIVES BEHIND ANTONOV TRIAL

LD022333 Moscow TASS in English 2236 GMT 2 Apr 86

[Text] Moscow April 2 TASS -- By TASS political news analyst Aleksey Grigoryev.

So, at last Bulgarian citizen Sergey Antonov could leave for home. So, a totally innocent man, who had spent more than three years under arrest, was acquitted by an Italian court of law. So, there was no "Bulgarian connection" of any kind in Rome's St. Peter Square. Q.E.D.

Buy why, properly speaking, did it take so long to prove that evident and irrefutable fact? Why did Italian justice in the person of investigating Judge Ilario Martella and prosecutor Antonio Marini disregarded the testimony provided by 57 witnesses from eight countries who did not give the court a single clue against Sergey Antonov and two of his compatriots, but instead kept listening intently, as if spellbound to the delirious speeches of Turkish neofascist Agca who gave the court 123 false accounts and even personally admitted 56 of them to be false? And finally, why did prosecutor Marini use a casuistical formula "acquitted for lack of evidence" with respect to Bulgarian nationals Sergey Antonov, Todor Ayvazov and Zhelyo Vasilev?

There is only one answer to this and many other questions concerning the Rome trial. Imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism, that announced the Soviet Union to be an "evil empire" and equated communism with terrorism, was desperately in need of such a trial. A pistol, not a knife, was put into the hands of "Gray Wolf" Agca and as soon as the pontiff's blood dropped to the stones of St. Peter Square a feverish search for a suitable candidate for the role of a "communist organizer of the attempted murder" began. Any other citizens of Bulgaria, not necessarily Antonov, Ayvazov and Vasilev, or nationals of some other socialist country for that matter could well have fallen victim to that conspiracy engineered by CIA agents, like Paul Henze, who pass themselves off as journalists, or journalists, like Claire Sterling, who are payrolled by the CIA.

For the motives behind the provocation were as follows: The United States will do everything within its capabilities to uncover the communist conspiracy to murder Pope John Paul II. This is what U.S. President Ronald Reagan said at the Conseravtive Political Action Conference in Washington at the end of 1982.

Indeed, the United States did everything within its capabilities. There can be no slightest doubt about Bulgaria's participation in the attempt on the life of the pontiff, U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger used to say. There is enough evidence to conclude that Bulgarians, and hence the Soviets, were involved in the assassination attempt, former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger said in his turn. A campaign in Italy to call public attention to Bulgaria's participation in the attempted murder of Pope John Paul II is a possibility and a promising undertaking, Maxwell Rabb, U.S. ambassador in Rome, informed the U.S. Department of State in August 1982.

As if following a command (and properly speaking, following a command, indeed) the "free", "independent", "pluralistic" Western press, and not only the tabloids but serious papers and magazines catering to intellectuals as well, started a real uproar -- the objective was to "pillory communism." And for this end elementary norms of journalistic ethics were trampled upon, all logic was forgotten and facts were replaced with insinuations and claumny.

Popular wisdom has it that any and every comparison is imperfect. And still there is no escaping a parallel between the Rome farce of a trial of three Bulgarians in 1983-1986 and the Leipzig trial of Georgy Dimitrov and his compatriots back in 1933. The Nazi charged the communists with setting the Reichstag building on fire, and the charges rested on the ravings of a moronic agent provocateur Van der Luebbe, the present-day suppressors of progress charged citizens of a socialist country with staging an attempt in the life of the pontiff, and the charges were founded on the ravings of a murderer and agent provocateur Agca.

Both in Leipzing and in Rome the objective was the same, as were the methods. The provocations were a flop both in Leipzing and Rome with persons in the dock and in the judges' seats changing places in the end.

The "Antonov case" collapsed, despite all the efforts of its initiators to the contrary. The CIA went into a huge record of crimes that shall sooner or later provide material for judgement.

Still, there is one more conclusion from the anti-communist farce of a trial in Rome. Western propaganda experts put themselves out to show how human rights are upheld in their "free world." Well, they are indeed upheld. Like the hanged man's body by a rope.

## MEMOIRS OF FORMER U.S. ENVOY TO FRANCE VIEWED

PM271026 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Mar 86 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko "Pertinent Remarks": "Let Us Imagine Ourselves in the NATO Bunker..."]

[Text] Paris [No date given] -- The book's cover is fully taken up by a photograph of the author looking like a boxer in a white training suit: A flattened nose, crooked teeth revealed in a smile. The title matches the cover -- "Hard-Hitting Envoy."

The Stock Publishing House in Paris has just published a work by Evan Galbraith, who was U.S. ambassador here from 1981 through 1985 and has recently left France. It is a kind of "fusion" of memoirs, admonitions, and political science fiction or rather figments of imagination.

The former ambassador begins by stating his diplomatic creed: "Detente is dangerous... If the U.S. forces were to leave West Europe it would be captured by the Soviets." Following which Mr Galbraith abandons himself with great pleasure to reminiscing about how, while serving as ambassador, he interfered in France's internal affairs, which resulted in his being called to order on four occasions by the Ministry of External Relations. The first time was when he declared that French Communists are supposedly "tools" in Moscow's hands: "I disliked the very idea that they had joined the government." The former diplomat describes in detail how Washington pressured Paris in an attempt to ensure that French firms abandon their participation in the construction of the Siberia-West Europe gas pipeline, and how he tried to muffle French indignation in connection with the U.S. aggression in Grenada and support for the "contras" in Nicaragua.

He lectures, he offers advice: France will pull itself out of crisis only if it is governed according to transatlantic formulas -- complete freedom for dismissals, the cutback of expenditure for social needs, the reduction of taxes on large fortunes, and so on. And the main point is alignment with Washington: France and the United States, Galbraith insists, "must maintain solidarity in the face of the ruthless common enemy -- the Russians."

E. Galbraith's favorite hobbyhorse is, without any doubt, the "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI). In the final chapter, entitled "Prospects," the "hard-hitting envoy" paints in broad strokes the future of France which, in 20 years' time, must -- in his words -- become "the bulwark of European defense," while West Europe either develops [razrabotat] its own SDI and acquires an ABM shield or -- even better -- buys it from the Americans.

But Galbraith has decided to share his innermost thoughts with his readers in appendices to the book's main text. Let us imagine ourselves in the year 2000, not just anywhere, but in...the bunker of the NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe, where strategists are preparing to repulse a Red attack. This is the time when SDI comes in handy! The United States and West Europe are totally invulnerable, the Russians are powerless, and they retreat. The year 2000 is the start of the decline of the Soviets, the transatlantic Cassandra prophesies (how many such disgraced prophets have we already seen!). The West hardens its stance, declares a military and naval blockade of Cuba, Castro capitulates. And all this thanks to SDI.... The former ambassador's neoglobalist visions are intertwined with imperial fantasies.

Having read the book, I telephoned the U.S. Embassy and was told that this work has been published only in France, with a U.S. edition planned for "later." "If you have any questions to ask Mr Galbraith," I was advised by the embassy, "call him in New York." Following the completion of his diplomatic mission, he became one of the directors of the Morgan Stanley Investment Bank. I was given the telephone number. I did not bother to call. In actual fact, I had no questions to ask, everything was evident anyhow.

There is just one puzzling aspect: In offering the book, the publishing house informs readers in a note that "Galbraith loves France very much...." How is it possible to evaluate as a demonstration of "love" the former ambassador's revelations about how, following Washington's instructions for 4 years, he interfered in France's internal affairs and did everything to force Paris to follow the lead of the United States?

## REPORTAGE, COMMENT ON SHIM'ON PERES' U.S. VISIT

### Seeking U.S. 'Hand-Outs'

LD021417 Moscow TASS in English 1400 GMT 2 Apr 86

[Text] Moscow, April 2 TASS -- Follows commentary by TASS writer Grigory Vasilyev:

Israeli Prime Minister Shim'on Peres, who is currently on a working visit in the USA, has held talks with U.S. Vice President George Bush, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and other high-ranking U.S. Administration officials. As the Israeli prime minister said, the talks covered, in particular, some "new ideas as regards a revival of the peaceful settlement process."

There is no doubt that whatever these "new ideas" may be, they are being discussed in the old context of the policy of separate deals, which Washington and Tel Aviv have long tried to force on the Arab countries. The scenario remains the same -- it is the intention to split the Arab countries and draw them in direct negotiations with the Israeli aggressors in conditions of the continuing occupation of the Arab lands, to bar the Palestine Liberation Organization from the settlement process and supplant it by such figures, who actually do not represent anybody.

Obviously, the point at issue at the talks is a further strengthening of the American-Israeli strategic alliance militarily and economically. It is not accidental that one of the main aims of the Israeli emissary is to get from the USA new dollar hand-outs to prop up the staggering economy of Israel, which is going through a severe crisis as a result of its militarization, of aggressive sorties and expansionism vis-a-vis the Arab neighbours. In the conditions when Washington and Tel Aviv are flouting the norms of international law and are continuing their crude armed interference in the affairs of sovereign Arab states, as was recently in Libya and as has been happening for a long time in Lebanon, the "new" American-Israeli ideas can be only new steps on the way of aggression and expansionism taken by the partners in the criminal anti-Arab alliance.

### 'Foisting Capitulatory Deals'

LD020837 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0606 GMT 2 Apr 86

[Text] Washington, 2 Apr (TASS) -- TASS correspondent Igor Borisenko reports:

Shim'on Peres, the prime minister of Israel, who is in the U.S. capital on a working visit, has had talks here with the U.S. Vice President George Bush, Secretary of State George Shultz, and other representatives of the administration.

At a press conference organized after these meetings, the Israeli prime minister extolled the piratical actions of the 6th Fleet against sovereign Libya as "a timely, responsible, reasonable, and necessary action". It is revealing that Peres repeated Washington's "arguments" practically word for word about some sort of "terrorist threat" from Libya to justify U.S. interventionist policies in the Mediterranean. Libya is not the only country against which the weight of the "strategic axis" of Washington-Tel Aviv is directed. Prime minister of Israel also made thinly veiled threats toward Syria.

As was apparent from his words, they are hoping in both Washington and Tel Aviv that the current economic difficulties being experienced by the Arab oil-producing countries in connection with the sharp fall of oil prices on the world market will have a "certain effect" on the political situation in the region. Peres stated that, during his talks with representatives of the Washington administration, "some new ideas on regenerating the process toward a peaceful settlement" were discussed. In other words, the United States and Israel are not abandoning their hopes of foisting capitulatory deals on the Arab countries with which Washington intends to strengthen its strategic position in the Near East.

## BUSH'S MIDEAST TRIP SHOWS U.S. 'NEOGLOBALISM'

LD030922 Moscow TASS in English 0850 GMT 3 Apr 86

[Text] Moscow, April 2 TASS -- By TASS commentator Georgiy Kuvaldin:

U.S. Vice-President George Bush is to leave Washington tomorrow on a tour of several Middle East countries. The trip is scheduled to take him to Saudi Arabia, Oman, Bahrain and the Yemen Arab Republic.

It should be noted that the Washington emissary sets out on another voyage right after a series of provocations and a direct armed intervention in the affairs of the Libyan Jamahiriya staged by the U.S. Administration within the framework of its anti-Libyan campaign of an unprecedented scale.

Washington's aggressive action caused an angry reaction and was widely condemned in the Arab world. It is indicative that even so-called moderate Arab countries stated at a high level their solidarity with Libya.

U.S. actions were assessed as a direct threat to the entire Arab East, primarily to those forces which are unwilling to follow the U.S. course obediently, which resist aggressive American and Israeli scheming in the region and consistently work toward a just settlement in the Middle East.

There is no doubt that the attempt to bring psychological pressure to bear on the Arabs, to justify the act of overt aggression and prepare public opinion in Arab countries for new possible armed attacks is one of the main purposes of the trip and the talks to be held by the high-ranking U.S. emissary.

It is also clear that the present tour falls within the framework of Washington's notorious doctrine of "neoglobalism" which enables it to declare regions situated thousands of kilometers away from American territory to be a "sphere of vital interests" of the United States. This doctrine which underlines the U.S. foreign policy, including its policy in the Middle East, is at a basic variance with the cause of peace and security of nations.

## POLYAKOV MEETS SYRIAN, PLO OFFICIALS IN DAMASCUS

### Talks With Syria's Al-Asad

LD031128 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 3 Apr 86

[Text] President al-Asad of Syria received Polyakov, member of the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and head of the Near Eastern Countries Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who is in Damascus. Greetings from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, were conveyed to the Syrian head of state.

During the conversation, the situation in the Near East and questions of mutual interest were discussed. Hafiz al-Asad expressed satisfaction with the relations of cooperation between the USSR and Syria and confirmed his country's steadfast adherence to the principled policy of opposition to the plans of imperialism and Zionism. [Damascus Domestic Service at 1115 GMT on 2 April in a similar report adds: "Vice President 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam received Polyakov earlier, at 0930 today, in the presence of the USSR ambassador. This discussion dealt with the situation in the region and matters of mutual concern."]

### Meets Syrian Ministers

LD020917 Moscow TASS in English 0822 GMT 2 Apr 86

[Text] Damascus, April 2 TASS -- Vladimir Polyakov, member of the Collegium of the USSR Foreign Ministry and head of the department of the Middle East countries of the USSR Foreign ministry, who is currently on a visit here, has met with Fraq al-Shar', Syrian minister of foreign affairs, and 'Islam al-Na'ib, minister of state for foreign affairs of Syria.

In the course of the meetings, which proceeded in an atmoshpere of friendship and cooperation characteristic of the relations between the two countries, issues pertaining to the international situation were discussed. In an exchange of views on the Middle East situation, the sides reaffirmed the need for holding an international conference on Middle East settlement with the participation of all sides concerned and of the USSR and the USA.

### Meets Palestinian Leaders

JN021255 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1200 GMT 2 Apr 86

[Louis Faris dispatch from Damascus]

[Excerpt] President Hafiz al-Asad today received Vladimir Polyakov, chief of the Near Eastern countries department in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with USSR Ambassador Fedotov attending. Vice President Khaddam received the Soviet official earlier today and discussed with him issues of joint concern. Polyakov also held talks yesterday with Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar'.

Polyakov and his delegation met with Mayif Hawatimah, secretary general of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine [DFLP], and his assistant Salih Ra'fat. DFLP sources said that the meeting dealt with PLO internal affiars, Middle East issues, and the future developments in light of Israeli threats. The Soviet official stressed the Soviet position on the need to restore PLO unity as soon as possible and noted Moscow's readiness to contribute toward restoring Palestinian national unity. He stressed Arab solidarity on the basis of the Fes summit plan and on convening an international conference on the Middle East that would ensure the PLO's right of independent and equal representation with other sides.

## ALGERIA'S BENDJEDID SPEAKS AT KREMLIN DINNER 26 MARCH

PM011511 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Mar 86 First Edition p 2

[TASS report on speech delivered by Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid at 26 March Kremlin dinner in his honor under general heading. "In a Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] Comrade general secretary!

Allow me first of all to express profound thanks for the friendly words you addressed to the Algerian people and me personally. I want to thank you sincerely for the warm reception rendered to me and the delegation accompanying me.

In connection with the fact that my visit to your hospitable capital is taking place directly after the completion of the 27th CPSU Congress, I want to take the opportunity to convey to you on behalf of the National Liberation Front [FLN] party and its leadership ardent congratulations on the successful completion of the work of your party forum of such importance.

The fact that I am among you today is evidence of the vitality of the friendship linking our peoples and of the respect which Algerians feel for your political leadership.

We want this visit to be an outstanding milestone in the development of multifaceted cooperation between our countries and to help to lend new impetus to this cooperation in order to raise it to an even higher level in accordance with our peoples' aspirations.

At the same time I would like to note that our meeting provides a good opportunity for the broad exchange of opinions and assessments on the basis of the goals and principles to which each of our countries adheres on international problems in the present complex international situation.

Regular summit meetings between Algeria and the Soviet Union fully attest to the high level and firmness of the harmonious relations existing between our countries to their mutual satisfaction. They are an expression of the will of both countries to seek persistently and consistently, on the basis of the common elements in our history and political activity, to expand mutual fruitful dialogue and cooperation.

Algerian-Soviet relations are indeed marked by a spirit of friendship and mutual understanding. They are based on political trust and are characterized by the positive dynamics of economic and scientific-technicalities.

Firm businesslike contacts have been established between our parties and governments and regular consultations are held in the constructive spirit inherent in Algerian-Soviet relations as a whole.

The numerous successes we have achieved in the practical implementation of the goals and projects of cooperation between our countries are evidence of the effectiveness of the existing mechanism of our bilateral ties.

A role of great importance on this plane is played by personal contacts and cultural exchange, which strengthen the basis of mutual understanding existing between us and open up new horizons before us. In this connection it is also apposite to express our satisfaction at the assistance which your great country is rendering to Algeria's efforts in the field of cadres training.

While expressing satisfaction at the nature and volume of Algerian-Soviet cooperation, we believe at the same time that not all reserves here have yet been used and not all opportunities have been exhausted. That is why we must continue to expand this cooperation and seek to ensure that it complies with our countries' economic potential and development rates.

We are seeking to improve our cooperation with a consideration for the friendly nature of Algerian-Soviet relations with a view to implementing our development plans and protecting them from the adverse influence of the situation which has formed in present international economic relations.

I emphasize that under conditions when negative tendencies are increasingly dominant in international relations, it is essential to improve our cooperation qualitatively, seeking new successes.

The development of present-day international relations as a whole, both political and economic, causes us profound concern. A highly dangerous situation has now formed on earth as a result of political and economic instability.

At the same time we can see that the problems of peace and development, whose solution is a very important task of our time, are being consigned to the background.

The present profound crisis of international relations is thus having a pernicious effect on the conditions of the existence of the peoples, whose right of life, security, progress, and independent national development is being flouted and jeopardized.

The arms race is undermining man's security still further and depriving him of valuable resources essential for ensuring universal properity. The maintenance of tension and the aggravation of conflicts in various parts of the world contradicts the peoples' desire for peace and prosperity. The conservation of hotbeds of imperialist and racial domination shows most obviously the degree of abnormality of the situation existing in the international community and attests to the deepening of the breach in development conditions.

All this leads to the point where the specter of famine is reappearing in various parts of the world at the very time when man's genius is taming nature and opening the way to plenty. The encroachment on states' independence and sovereignty is destabilizing the international situation, undermining the efforts in the field of national building, and contradicting the principle of each people's free choice of their political, economic, and social system.

In this complex international situation, which can only improve if the efforts of those who spare no effort to rid mankind of the differences which are tearing it apart prevail, Algeria sees its duty in promoting a positive change in the present nature of international relations is seeking the establishment of peace and security and the triumph of freedom and justice.

In pursuing a policy of genuine nonalignment, Algeria is fulfilling the undertakings it has assumed in the Nonaligned Movement, remaining loyal to the principles tempered in the crucible of the national liberation war.

The completion of the process of the elimination of colonialism, the establishment of a new international economic order, the safeguarding of collective security on a world scale, the assertion of the principles of peaceful settlement of conflicts, the elimination of tension -- those are the foundations on which Algeria's activity in the international arena rests.

I am pleased to note the coincidence of our two countries' desire to achieve these goals. I also want to express Algeria's high assessment of the positive initiative which the Soviet Union has put forward in the vitally important field of disarmament, where your country has great responsibility.

The Nonaligned Movement, which is seeking to make a substantial contribution to the quest for a genuine solution to international problems, will use all its political and moral weight at its forthcoming forums to return to concord and the normalization of the international climate by confirming the goals and principles on which rests the prestige of this movement among the community of nations.

In this connection Algeria is most concerned by the present events in the Mediterranean. The use of methods of violence and aggression has acquired new scope in this region.

As yesterday in Tunisia, so today in Libya the Arab nation is being subjected to threats and aggression.

Algeria denounces the aggression prepetrated against Libya. It is in solidarity with the fraternal Libyan people at this their hour of difficulty.

The lesson which should be drawn from the present events is obviously that the Mediterranean must become a zone of peace and cooperation. Algeria has always made efforts to achieve this goal, and the present alarming development of events merely strengthens it is this aspiration.

The Third World peoples are carrying the unbearable burden of the world's economic crisis and tension.

At the same time hotbeds of tension and crises also exist in the Southern Hemisphere where they have arisen as a result of ignoring the principles of the United Nations and pursuing a policy of force and diktat.

In our region the conflicts in the West Sahara, which has continued for more than 10 years, is undermining the sacred principle of the poeples' right to self-determination and independence and is preventing the ensuring of peaceful conditions essential for building a unified Greater Maghred. In solidarity with the West Saharan people's lawful struggle, Algeria is sparing no effort to achieve a political settlement in this region in accordance with the peace plan elaborated by the OAU and approved by the United Nations and the Nonaligned Movement.

On the other hand, Africa, whose will in the matter of definitive liberation and entry into the era of progress and development is expressed by the OAU, is being subjected to natural disasters such as drought and the encroachment of the desert and is countering the Pretoria regim's aggressive actions. In the struggle it is waging on various fronts, Africa hopes for increasingly effective solidarity from those members of the international community whose main concern is the dignity of man and the peoples and who advocate the elimination of the regime of racial discrimination and the attainment of Namibia's independence and the safeguarding of security and stability in the southern part of the continent.

By virtue of its natural assocation to Africa and to the Arab world, Algeria lives by the problems of these two regions and proceeds from the close interconnection of their struggle. We know the obstacles which the liberation process is encountering in the Near East and in southern Africa as a result of the aggressive nature of the racist and expansionist regimes which are imperialism's ally and bulwark.

The Palestinian people have suffered countless casualties in the long struggle for their self-determination and against the aggression of Zionism, which denies its rights.

The fraternal Arab countries have frequently been subjected to aggressive attacks, whose consequences persist to our day. One flagrant example is the tragedy of Lebanon.

The Near East, which has become a region of constant tension, is in a state of crisis, fraught with a threat to international peace and security. To settle this crisis it is necessary to convene an international conference with the full participation of the PLO, which is the sole representative of the Palestinian people fully empowered to discuss their fate.

Under the present complex conditions of the struggle to establish lasting, just peace in the Near East, it is essential to unite the ranks of the Palestinian resistance and rally all Arab countries around it. It is to implement this aim that Algeria is acting with every conviction.

The war now being waged between Iran and Iraq has brought untold losses at a time when it is so essential to pool all efforts for the sake of the Palestinian people's sacred cause. This war is against nature when you consider the spiritual ties uniting the fraternal peoples of neighboring countries -- Iran and Iraq. It is essential for reason to prevail as rapidly as possible and for these countires to definitively renounce resorting to force to resolve their disputes and to seek a future based on good-neighborliness and cooperation, guided by everything which unites them.

Comrade general secretary! Dear friends!

I am very glad of the opportunity to hold talks with you on questions of bilateral relations and topical international problems, and I am convinced that they will have a beneficial effect on the expansion of Algerian-Soviet cooperation and the consolidation of ties of friendship and mutual understanding between our countries and peoples.

Expressing profound thanks for the cordial reception and attention, C. Bendjedid proposed a toast to the development and expansion of friendship and cooperation between the Algerian and Soviet peoples, to the health of Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, the health of the members of the eminent Soviet political leadership, the progress and flowering of the Soviet people, and the health of all friends present here!

## DEPARTURE CEREMONY HELD FOR ALGERIA'S BENDJEDID

PM011036 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Mar 86 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Visit Over"]

[Text] Chadli Bendjedid, president of Algeria and general secretary of the National Liberation Front, and his wife left Moscow on 28 March. He had been paying an official friendly visit to our country at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government.

Before the departure a farewell ceremony was held in the Great Kremlin Palace's Georgiyevskiy Hall.

M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and his wife bade farewell to the Algerian leader and his wife.

Taking part in the farewell ceremony were A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and his wife; E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and his wife; S.L. Sokolov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister; and A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

From the Kremlin the motorcade accompanied by an honorary escort of motorcycles set off for Vnukovo Airport. The streets and squares along the motorcade route were decorated with the Algerian and Soviet state flags and banners bearing greetings.

At the airport C. Bendjedid and his wife were seen off by A.A. Gromyko and his wife, E.A. Shevardnaze and his wife, S.L. Sokolov, N. V. Talyzin, and A.F. Dobrynin.

Taking part in the sendoff were R.-B.I Songayla, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; T.B. Guzhenko, V.A. Kinkov, Ye.A. Kozlovskiy, and G.A. Yagodin, USSR ministers; K.F. Kutushev, chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations; S.A. Losev, general director of TASS; V.T. Saykin, chairman of Moscow Gorispolkom; K.N. Brutents, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; L.F. Ilichev, USSR deputy foreign minister; V.N. Taratuta, USSR ambassador to Algeria; and other officials.

The sendoff party included A. Allahoum, Algerian ambassador to the USSR, the heads of the diplomatic missions of a number of countries accredited in the USSR, and Algerian students attending VUZes in the capital.

The guests was also seen off by representatives of Moscow working people.

At the airport the Algerian and USSR state flags were raised, an honor guard was mounted from the three branches of the USSR Armed Forces -- the Ground Forces, the Air Force, and the Navy -- and a band played the two states' national anthems.

A.A. Gromyko and C. Bendjedid reviewed the Soviet servicement.

The solemn farewell ceremony ended with a march past by the honor guard.

## FURTHER REPORTAGE ON VISIT OF SAMORA MACHEL

### More on 31 March Kremlin Talks

PM021351 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Apr 86 First Edition pp 1-2

[TASS report: "Soviet-Mozambique Talks in the Kremlin"]

[Text] Soviet-Mozambican talks were held in the Kremlin 31 March. Taking part were:

On the Soviet side -- A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; E.A. Shevardnadze; S.L. Sokolov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister; A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; B.I. Aristov, K.F. Kuatushev, and other officials;

On the Mozambican side -- S. Machel, chairman of the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] party and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique; J. Chissano, M. Machungo, A. (Pangene), S. Vieira, A. Branco, J. dos Santos, and other Mozambican officials.

In the course of the talks, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, the Soviet leaders briefed the high-ranking Mozambican guest on the main avenues of CPSU economic and social policy approved by the 27th party congress. It was noted that the Soviet people are fully determined to implement a comprehensive program of action based on the CPSU's strategic course, approved by the congress, of accelerating the country's socio-economic development.

The Mozambican side's attention was drawn to the CPSU's international activity in the conditions of the world situation, which has been sharply exacerbated through the fault of the militarist circles of imperialism. It was stressed that the struggle against the nuclear danger and the arms race and for the preservation and strengthening of universal peace is the pivot of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

The historic significance of the Soviet nuclear disarmament program put forward in the 15 January 1986 statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was noted. The implementation of this program would make it possible to halt the arms race on earth and stop it from spreading into outer space and to redirect considerable resources toward development needs and the elimination of hunger, illitercy, poverty, and disease in the liberated countries. It was noted that the Soviet nuclear disarmament program is a key element in the all-embracing system of international security, the idea for which was put forward by the 27th CPSU Congress. The fundamentals of this system cover all spheres of international relations -- military, political, economic, and humanitarian.

S. Machel reaffirmed Mozambique's support for the Soviet Union's foreign policy initiatives, whose implementation would make it possible to radically improve the situation in the world. He stated that this support applies above all and in full measures to the Soviet nuclear disarmament program set forth in the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's statement and to the creation of an all-embracing system of international security.

At the present stage the Soviet Union regards the need to seek an immediate end to nuclear weapons tests as a matter of paramount importance.

The Mozambican side welcomed the Soviet Union's decision to refrain from carrying out nuclear explosions after 31 March of this year unless the United States carries out such explosions. It also expressed approval of the Soviet proposals to hold a Soviet-American summit meeting in Europe in the near future so as to reach agreement on ending nuclear tests.

It was stated that the Soviet Union values Mozambique's contribution to the struggle against imperialism and racism and to the cause of ensuring universal peace and international security.

In the course of the discussion of the main international problems, the identity or similarity of the positions of the Soviet Union and Mozambique was reaffirmed.

The sides expressed serious concern about the acute conflict situations in various parts of the world, which are used by imperialist circles to whip up tension and increase the danger of war and to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states. The USSR and Mozambique call for the political settlement of conflicts and disputes between states on a just footing, without outside interference.

In the course of the talks the sides again declared their solidarity with the people of Libya and sharply condemned the aggressive U.S. actions against that sovereign African country.

During the examination of the situation in southern Africa it was stressed that the responsibility for the crisis situation that has developed there rests above all with the Pretoria regime. By means of aggression and subversive actions, it is trying to impose its will on the neighboring African countries and maintain the illegal occupation of Namibia, and it seeks to save the racist apartheid system from collapse by pursuing bloody terror and repressions against the majority of the South African population.

It was noted that the policy of complicity and "appeasement" of South Africa pursued by Western countries, above all the United States, encourages the racists to engage in new acts of aggression against independent African states and bloody new repression against those who fight against apartheid. The puppet bandit groupings made up of mercenaires and traitors have become the tool of the racists and imperialists. The Soviet side declared its unswerving solidarity with Mozambique and Angola, the victims of aggression from the forces of imperialism and racism that seek to make those independent countries abandon their chosen path of development.

The participants in the talks came out in support of the world public's demand for sanctions against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

The sides expressed solidarity with the courageous liberation struggle of the African National Congress (ANC) and the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO), and supported the course of the "Frontline" States toward strengthening their unity an cohesion. The urgency of a political settlement in Namibia was noted. The sole internationally recognized basis for such a settlement is the relevant UN decisions in their totality, including UN Security Council Resolution 435.

In the course of the talks the important role of the Nonaligned Movement as an influential force in the international arena was noted. The sides attach importance to its contribution to the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for the preservation and strengthening of universal peace and the development of political and economic cooperation between peoples on the basis of equality and justice.

The two sides supported holding concrete, businesslike talks within the UN framework with the participation of all states, with a view to the global solution of the most important economic problems. Such talks must be aimed at establishing a new international economic order, eliminating economic backwardness, and settling foreign debts.

There was a high assessment of the activity of the OAU. For the African countries, this organization is an important instrument in the struggle against imperialism and for the total liberation of the continent and the solution of its acute socioeconomic and political problems.

Bilateral Soviet-Mozambican relations were discussed. The sides expressed satisfaction with the level of friendly cooperation achieved between the CPSU and Frelimo and between the Soviet Union and Mozambique and reaffirmed their determination to continue to develop bilateral ties on the basis of the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation Between the USSR and Mozambique. The Soviet side stated that it will continue to give Frelimo and the Mozambican people assistance and support in their efforts to implement a program of socioeconomic transformation and to strengthen the country's independence and defense capability.

In conclusion, the useful and fruitful nature of the talks was noted. The two sides expressed the mutual conviction that meetings between the leaders of the Soviet Union and Mozambique are a significant contribution to the strengthening of relations of friendship between our two countries.

## More on Machel Dinner Speech

PM030925 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 April 86 First Edition p 2

[TASS report on speech delivered by S.M. Machel, chairman of Frelimo and president of Mozambique, at the 31 March Kremlin dinner in his honor, under the general headline "In a Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] Dear comrades and friends!

Lasting fraternal relations are developing between Frelimo and the CPSU, relations based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism that determine the harmoniousness of relations between our countries and states. That is why today, 31 March, we mark with great joy the ninth anniversary of the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation that unites our countries.

In the most diverse spheres of our country's life we receive material, scientific, and technical assistance and support from our Soviet comrades. This includes such spheres as defense and security, geological research, industrial construction, agriculture, fisheries, ship repairs, education, and health care. This support is also important in providing the people with agricultural produce and supplying them with consumer goods, as well as in providing free aid to the victims of natural disasters.

Solidarity from the USSR means the work of Soviet people who encounter difficulties on Mozambique's soil and make sacrifices in the name of support for our people's efforts to defend the fatherland and in the struggle for further successes in building socialism.

Our visit to the Soviet Union is a friendly, working visit. In a fraternal atmosphere, we are to sum up the results of more than 10 years of cooperation between the People's Republic of Mozambique and the USSR.

We see the prospects and future of our relations, which are the guarantee of our development and are based on mutual interests. They promote the implementation of our common ideals in the struggle for peace and socialism.

Our visit is taking place at a noteworthy moment, soon after the 27th CPSU Congress. Our party watched with great attention the preparations for and progress of the congress. We took part in the congress' work. We all felt the atmosphere of renewal and hope, the spirit of revolutionary enthusiasm and determination, which promote confident progress along the path mapped out toward the new century, the new millenium in mankind's history. The 27th congress enhanced still further the prestige of the cause of socialism in the world. Its decisions reflect the deepest aspirations of the Soviet people and all mankind in the struggle for peace, progress, and socialism.

The re-election of our esteemed friend Mikhail Gorbachev to the post of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee confirms your party's determination to support a man who represents the interests of Soviet Communists and thereby ensures the dynamism of your party's ideological efforts and revolutionary actions in the modern era.

The Mozambican people greeted with joy the successful results of the congress and Comrade Gorbachev's re-election. The struggle for peace is indisputably the main concern of all citizens of our planet.

For us Mozambicans, who 21 years ago became victims of unceasing aggressive actions by imperialism, peace is the dream that we would like to turn into reality. Peace and a peaceful life are urgently necessary for us to be able to channel our energy and efforts into the economic, social, and cultural development of our country and into overcoming poverty, hunger, and illiteracy.

The apartheid regime is the basic cause of the violence and the threat of war in southern Africa. Apartheid is a manifestation of imperialism's fascist, militarist policy in our region.

The colonization of Namibia, the occupation of a section of Angolan territory, armed banditry against Mozambique, and support for the puppet groupings in Angola are the external continuation of the apartheid regime's terrorist policy against the South African people.

Certain Western circles that continue to advocate the nonviolent resolution of conflicts in our region are doing little in practice to destroy apartheid -- the cause of the violence. Equal responsibility is often imputed to aggressors and victims.

The independence of Namibia, which should be free like the other former German colonies, was linked in the early sixties to problems that have nothing to do with the attainment of that goal. Those same circles that are opposed to sanctions against South Africa do nothing when its ruling regime in effect imposes sanctions against Mozambique and other neighboring countries.

War and the threat of war also ravage other parts of the world, such as Central America, the Near East, North Africa, the Horn of Africa, and Asia.

The people of the earth demand an end to the threat of mankind's destruction. They refuse to live with the threat of nuclear war, the threat of the use of weapons of mass destruction. All mankind demands an end to the arms race. It demands that outer space and the ocean depths be used for development and not for military purposes, which will lead to nothing less than the destruction of our planet.

Frelimo, the Mozambique Government, and our people consider the continuation of the USSR-U.S. dialogue that began in Geneva to be important to the relaxation of international tension. In this context we welcome the constructive proposals put forward by the Soviet Union. We highly value the Soviet Union's recent decision not to carry out nuclear explosions after 31 March if the United States adopts the same position.

The time has come for scientific and technical achievements and resources to serve progress, not death and destruction. Like the whole world, we want the entire scientific, technical, and financial potential and all material resources to be used exclusively with a view to improving people's lives, educating children, providing people with food, clothing, and shelter, and satisfying their needs, both material and spiritual.

We have come here to strengthen the foundations that form the past and present of our relations. We have come here to deepen and develop our multifaceted cooperation. Our parties have already defined the basic political guidelines. Our governments must promote their attainment.

In conclusion, S.M. Machel wished good health to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and his wife; A.A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and his wife; and all those present and proposed a toast to the constant strengthening of the friendship and fraternal solidarity between Frelimo and the CPSU, to the deepening of cooperation between the two states, to peace and cooperation between nations, and to success for the Soviet people.

## BRIEFS

AID FOR SUDAN -- Khartoum, 27 Mar (TASS) -- An Aeroflot plan flew into Khartoum today with a load of food, medical supplies and essential items earmarked for the population of this African country stricken by cruel drought and hunger. Al-Jazuli Daf'allah, chairman of the Sudan's Council of Ministers, expressed gratitude to the Soviet people on behalf of the government for the assistance provided. This humane act, he said, testifies to the strength of the ties linking the peoples of the two countries. [Text] [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2030 GMT 27 Mar 86 LD]